

**COLLECTING SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY DUTCH PAINTING  
IN ENGLAND 1689 - 1760**

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the collecting of seventeenth century Dutch painting in England from 1689 marking the beginning of auction sales in England to 1760, just prior to the beginning of the Royal Academy and the rising patronage for British art. An examination of the composition of English collections centred around the period 1694 when William and Mary passed a law permitting paintings to be imported for public sale for the first time in the history of collecting. Before this date paintings were only permitted entry into English ports for private use and enjoyment. The analysis of sales catalogues examined the periods before and after the 1694 change in the law to determine how political circumstances such as Continental wars and changes in fiscal policy affected the composition of collecting paintings with particular reference to the propensity for acquiring seventeenth century Dutch painting in England .

Chapter Two examines the notion that paintings were imported for public sale before 1694, and argues that there had been essentially no change in the law. It considered also Charles II's seizure of the City's Charters relaxing laws protecting freemen of the Guilds from outside competition, and the growth of entrepreneur-auctioneers against the declining power of the Outroper, the official auctioneer elected by the Corporation of City of London. An investigation into the Poll Tax concluded that the boom in auction sales was part of the highly speculative activity which attended Parliament's need to borrow public funds to continue the war with France. Chapter Three discusses some of the economic circumstances in the Dutch-English alliance in 1689 which helped to establish the financial infrastructure supporting the importation and acquisition

of paintings. A comparative analysis of subject matter in Dutch collections showed an increase in the production of landscape painting in particular which was in turn reflected in English collections.

The experimental procedure in Chapter Four involved a detailed analysis of auction sales for the period 1689-1694 and drawing on the evidence provided in the previous chapters showed that the propensity to collect seventeenth century Dutch painting dominated collecting, and it was available in large numbers by Dutch artists working in England and by Dutch artists abroad.

Chapter Five covers the period after 1695 to 1760 using random sampling of annotated sales catalogues (1711 to 1759) illustrating the effect of increased trade on the composition of collecting, demonstrating that marginally cheaper prices for Dutch landscapes, portraiture and genre painting challenged the growing taste for Italian or French landscapes, genre and religious and classical history painting. Dutch painting as an investment is also considered. This thesis contributes to the knowledge of prices paid for paintings for the period 1711-1759 through statistical analysis. Summaries of the average price paid for seventeenth century Dutch and other European paintings provide a scale to analyse prices often quoted in eighteenth century art historical studies. These summaries illustrate more precisely that paintings at auction sales were generally low in price providing a benchmark figure, which manipulated the market to the extent that paintings by living British artists were unable to compete.

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This research carried out over a period of four years required the examination of a vast amount of data and involved collecting, coding, and a tremendous amount of counting and calculating, typing, and editing. Some of the work, particularly the statistical material was very detailed and all of it required a great deal of hard work.

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COLLECTING SEVENTEENTH CENTURY DUTCH PAINTING IN ENGLAND

1689 - 1760

C H A P T E R   O N E

INTRODUCTION

1.0.0                Exactly when there was a noticeable increase in the propensity to collect seventeenth century Dutch painting in England is a controversial issue. It has been customary for scholars to generalize broadly centering on the mode of a frequency distribution of dates for collecting particular Dutch paintings. This has led to vastly different opinions being held as to both the time when Dutch was first collected and the time when the collecting of this art was at its height in England. Some historians conclude inaccurately that seventeenth century Dutch painting was first collected in this country in high frequencies some fifty to one hundred years later than was actually the case. Christopher Brown (1983) placed the 'discovery' of eminent Dutch artists notably Cuyp and Hobbema in the nineteenth century ,<sup>1</sup> when we know from Simpson's study (1953) of the art market in the period before 1760 that paintings by these latter artists were collected as early as the 1740s.<sup>2</sup> One of the reasons for these difficulties is that provenance records in museums are often incomplete; sales transactions were not always recorded and sometimes provenance has been lost when paintings are passed on from one generation to the next. Wright (1976) confirmed my own findings<sup>3</sup> when he noted that:

It is virtually impossible to unearth how the lesser individuals made their collections, what they thought of them and why they ended up in the local art gallery ... [for example] we do not even know how Desenfans built up the collection subsequently at Dulwich...<sup>4</sup>

General pointers like Haskell (1976) placed the most important period for collecting seventeenth century Dutch painting in the years

1793-1815 " when the French Revolution and Napoleonic conflicts caused a slump in the Paris art market. " Haskell argued that at this time the interest "in earlier - or remoter - art which developed in the 1780s was submerged by the sudden availability of so many great and established masterpieces ... whose status had already been consecrated by centuries of praise".<sup>7</sup> What is evident however, is that by the seventeen-nineties collecting as an activity had become more widespread and that the ownership of quality works with indubitable provenance acquired status along with their owners, and became the hallmark of a gentleman of taste. "

In a documentary chrestomathy of the English as collectors Frank Herman (1972) remarked on the fact that despite Walpole's often quoted stereotyping of Dutch painting as low-life, the latter was popularly collected sometime before 1750 and it was " available in enormous quantities at reasonable prices ...".<sup>8</sup> However, since no other comparable indices were provided by Herman to illustrate how paintings compared with other commodities in terms of price one wonders exactly what the term 'reasonable' meant to the eighteenth century consumer of paintings at auction sales.

Other sources placed the most important period for the growth of interest in Dutch painting in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Buchanan (1824) correctly observed that "until the arrival of the Orleans collection from France in 1785 the prevailing taste had been for the acquisition of artists of the Dutch and Flemish schools",<sup>10</sup> but again no attempt was made to suggest when there was an increased propensity to collect Dutch painting.

With the exception of a few short studies such as Frank Simpson's article (1953) concerning the collecting of Dutch painting before 1760 (mentioned above), Henry and Margaret Ogden's work on collecting landscape painting in England for the period 1640 to 1700

(1955), and Iain Pears (1984) thesis touching on the collecting of painting as a part of a wider study of the growth in literature and education in the eighteenth century, no methodological model exists for a study of the popularity of seventeenth century Dutch painting in English collections.

#### 1.1.0 The Aim and Structure of the Thesis

The purpose of this thesis is to identify the period when seventeenth century Dutch Painting first entered English collections in large numbers, and secondly to determine the extent to which Dutch painting competed with other European paintings firstly in terms of actual frequencies in numbers; and thirdly to consider whether such variables as subject matter, price paid and the fame of the artist influenced 'consumer' choice at auction sales and to explore the implications of these findings to show the effect of auction prices on the market for the production of paintings by living British artists. It has been customary for art historians to explore the world of collecting through primary and secondary sources by focusing on individual collectors and employing qualitative methods to define the extent of the taste for Dutch or Italian painting. While not undervaluing such methods the author has chosen instead to present a dispassionate view of the collecting of seventeenth century Dutch painting by using a quantitative approach through the random sampling of sales catalogues and statistical analysis to provide a representative view of the kind of paintings collected and covering a wider range of material, previously restricted by a qualitative approach.

What was required for this analysis , was an examination of a wide variety of sources to determine when Dutch paintings were first

collected in large frequencies. Collecting works of art is naturally affected by a wide variety of social and political factors many of which cannot be measured in precise terms. However, some major political events - such as wars or particular legislation can have a measureable input. For this reason a time chart was created to identify the most significant political events in order to show how new legislation can in turn effect social and cultural changes. The main body of the study involved a systematic sampling of sales catalogues taking into account the changes in events affecting the supply and demand for the acquisition of paintings.

It is important to point out that although studies of individual collectors enable a closer examination of the approximate dates for the acquisition of particular paintings, a statistical study using the sale catalogues as a vehicle has the advantage of showing how much art has been accumulated. This combines with estimates of production based on such features as the artist's life-span enables generalizations to be made about when the paintings were acquired by English collectors. An important consideration is that the frequency for the acquisition of certain artist seems to have formed distinct patterns from one period to the next reflecting changes in taste even within the collecting of Dutch painting. This is particularly noticeable in auction sales after the period 1695 when customs first permitted paintings to be imported from Europe for public sale. After this period there appeared to be a noticeable broadening in taste to include a broader Italian and French market, and a wider base of seventeenth century Dutch painting notably more of the elegant genre paintings by Mieris and sophisticated low-life genre of Steen and Van Ostade which had been rare in the period before the 1695 change in the law.

Considering that the first auction sales in 1689 probably

contained paintings which were acquired in the early part of the seventeenth century one would expect a higher proportion of early Netherlandish paintings than in the eighteenth century. The important issue to consider here is how late seventeenth and eighteenth century writers defined the paintings of the Low Countries (that is, the classically inspired paintings of Jan Gossaert, Jan van Scorel and Hercules Seghers in the period before the 1630s) as distinct from Dutch painting proper of the seventeenth century. The latter type of painting was produced in large numbers for a so-called middle class audience, and covering a brief period of about forty years from 1630 to about 1670. The political division between The Netherlands (labelled Holland) and Flanders which occurred in 1576, does not appear to have had an immediate affect on the way in which art forms of these countries were labelled. Writers continued to use a general term 'The Low Countries' or 'Flemish painting' in reference to early Dutch and Flemish painting, at least those artists working prior to the 'Golden Age'. It was not until the 1680s that there appears to have been a growing awareness of the geographic and political circumstances which led to the division between the seven states of the Netherlands and Flanders. This is evident in the sales catalogues of the 1680s where one can find examples of the term Dutch painting or 'Dutch piece' to label paintings by anonymous seventeenth century Dutch artists, but at the same time there was no attempt to define Flemish painting, both were lumped together as Dutch painting. In the eighteenth century Walpole (1761-1771) often confused seventeenth century Dutch and Flemish artists. One possible reason for this is that after the political division occurred, Protestants moved from Flanders to Holland and Catholics living in the North moved to Flemish territory. There are instances throughout the art history of the period of artists moving back and forth from Holland to Flanders and

vice versa which naturally resulted in some inaccuracies in recording the country of origin.

Since painting was not permitted to be imported for public sale before 1695 an examination of the sales catalogues before and after this significant date was carried out to determine the composition of English collections and the way in which fiscal policies affected the kind of paintings which were ultimately acquired. The period of the Civil War and puritan objection to religious images, and wars against France and Holland limited travel abroad and these circumstances must have affected the type of painting collected. This study sets out to prove that the alliance between Holland and England in 1672 encouraged the acquisition of Dutch painting in greater frequencies than any other period in the history of collecting. One of the known variables assisting this assumption is that Charles II encouraged Dutch citizens to migrate to England and these new arrivals were artists and craftsmen.

Chapter two concerns the development of auction sales outside the city of London which grew up in competition with the declining authority of the Outroper, the official elected by the City to auction household goods and paintings. The evidence provided by secondary material and an examination of The Statutes of The Realm and records in Guild Hall Library suggested that the Quo Warranto seizure of the City's charters which was originally set up to protect the City Guilds from competition outside the City, probably caused a free flow of trade and entrepreneurship in and out of the City and at the same time might have led to a relaxation of the customs law prohibiting the importation of paintings for public sale.

An examination of the economic conditions in England for the period 1689-1760 was attempted to provide a context for a gradual

increase in auction sales. Such factors as the establishment of banking and Dutch funding of the English Public Debt were explored with the aim of showing that these institutions assisted in the growth of trade including the importation of luxury goods and paintings. Part of this study included the detailed collecting of Customs data at the Public Records Office (Kew) for the importation of paintings to be represented graphically to show how wars affected the supply of paintings to England for the period 1696 to 1760 ( Appendix 3 ). A survey of the economic conditions in England generally indicated that food was cheaper during the period and wages higher which naturally favoured a growth in the consumption of paintings at auction sales.

In chapters four and five a random sampling of sales catalogues and statistical analysis of the data was carried out to determine with greater certainty when Dutch painting was collected in large numbers and to describe the composition of English collections. The data was collected according to country of origin and divided into two categories 'working in England' and 'working abroad' in order to determine (1) how Dutch painting competed with other European paintings and (2) to test the hypothesis that painting by resident Dutch artists in England as well as Dutch paintings from abroad which could be imported for private use. An examination of the sales catalogues prior to the 1695 change in the customs law which first allowed paintings to be imported for public sale (as well as private use) shows how legal restraints limited the acquisition of paintings by English collectors and .

An analysis of the sales catalogues is an efficient means of testing the hypothesis based on Gustav Waagen's observations (1854) that genuine Renaissance works were rare in English collections, compared with the amount of Dutch painting owned. The popularity for collecting contemporary paintings by Dutch and other European artists



will also be examined as part of this study.

In Chapter Five random sample of the Houlditch manuscript listing of annotated auction sales for the period 1711-1759 was planned in order to show how changes in customs laws which first permitted paintings to be imported for public sale affected changes in the composition of collecting during the first half of the eighteenth century. One would expect a broadening of taste, wider variety of paintings from European countries and a change in the type of art available. An examination of the same factors as in chapter four were covered, but since the sales were annotated it allowed the researcher to explore such factors as price and the name of the purchasers. This enabled an exploration of the social class origin of the purchasers of paintings at auction sale but only in a limited way (since this data was often incomplete). The most emphasis was placed on an analysis of price paid for paintings at auction sale to determine whether Dutch painting was lower in price on the average compared to other European paintings.

#### 1.2.0 Source Material

The research materials used for this study included : a single volume of printed sales catalogues containing 132 sales amounting to a total of almost 40,000 paintings for the period 1689-1694, and two manuscript volumes of sales recorded by Messrs. Richard Houlditch ( father and son) for the period 1711-1759 containing about 178 sales catalogues, with a total of 19,000 paintings, from which two samples were drawn, even so the amount of data to be analysed turned out to be a task of enormous proportions. The catalogues turned out to be an invaluable source of information illustrating what collectors were buying and selling during the period, unlike the accounts of a few individual collectors. In addition, these sales catalogues offered

the researcher valuable information about the popularity for the sale and acquisition of particular kinds of painting, which certainly would not have been as comprehensive if the researcher had used a few inventories of individual collectors (as case studies), as there is a certain degree of uncertainty about how much the taste of an individual represents the taste of the majority of collectors. This data was collected with great attention to detail and recorded on colour coded cards to identify such factors as the country of origin of each painting, the type of subject matter depicted, the price paid and the name of the seller and buyer. It is unfortunate that a complete study of the social class membership of purchasers at auction sales was not possible due to the fact that names of purchasers at auction sales was not always recorded by the Messrs Houlditch. Even so a single surname was often insufficient to trace the owner in a biographical dictionary and secondly a study of social class is fraught with problems since one has to rely on estimates of occupation compiled by Gregory King in the sixteen-ninties. Modern research has thrown more light on this subject however, by noting that as early as the sixteen-fifties the wealth of the merchant class exceeded that of the landed interests. <sup>11</sup> The suggestion offered by Power (1986) is that later in residential areas there was a merging of social class based on wealth rather than occupational group.<sup>12</sup>

A random sampling of sales catalogues for the period 1689-1694 and a systematic listing of every painting in fourteen sales catalogues selected from a larger volume of catalogues at the British Museum Library was the best method of handling such an enormous amount of data. For the later period two independent random samples of paintings for the total 178 sales catalogues was used to show in an unbiased way how Dutch painting competed in popularity with every other kind of painting in the market place.

The above statistical material was supported by a detailed and systematic gathering of information about Dutch artists mentioned in contemporary eighteenth century literature and was used to investigate a number of sub-topics such as the attitudes of eighteenth century collectors to Dutch paintings. Vertue's manuscript Notebook transcribed and published by the Walpole Society gave considerable insight into the breadth of collecting seventeenth century Dutch painting during the first quarter of the century. In fact the latter source along with such sources as John Savage's translation of de Piles version of Abrege, (1709) Walpoles Anecdotes (1760), Martyn's English Connoisseur (1766), and Frederick Harms's (1742) chronological listing of artists enabled a comprehensive catalogue raisonne of seventeenth century Dutch painters working in England and abroad to be compiled which was then used as a convenient reference. These eighteenth century sources support the notion that collectors were interested in collecting contemporary eighteenth century art along with paintings of the sixteenth and seventeenth century. A number of secondary sources in addition to those already mentioned above included Walpoles Aedes Walpolianae (1752) and Visits to Country Seats and M. Rouquet's observation of English taste from 1722 to the 1750s provided additional insight into collecting during the first half of the eighteenth century.

A number of primary sources were examined to provide valuable insight into the historical determinants of the period and the beginning of auction sales. These included the family records of influential writers of the period, particularly The Earls of Shaftesbury; inventories of private collections; a systematic examination of newspapers - The London Gazette, The Universal Intelligence, The English Current, The London Mercury, which covered the period 1688 to 1696. Addison's publication The Tatler

(1709-1710) and the Spectator (1711-12) helped to fill in gaps in knowledge about attitudes towards collecting during the early eighteenth century.

Other secondary sources concerned with collecting during the period contributed to the overall understanding of collecting were William Buchanan's Memoirs of Painting with a Chronological History of the Importation of Pictures by the Great Masters into England since the French Revolution (1824); Gustav Waagen's Treasures of Art in Great Britain (1854) noted that Dutch painting occupied a prominent place in English collections since the eighteenth century, but made the point that 'it was not an elevated taste' which seems to suggest that Waagen was merely echoing eighteenth century opinions. Arnold Hauser's The Social History of Art : Renaissance, Mannerism and Baroque (1951), Bernard Tessydre's L'Histoire de L'Art vue du Grand Siecle (1964) research concerning de Piles Abrege (1699) and its sources. Gerard Reitlinger's Economics of Taste (1961) made some interesting observations concerning taste for the acquisition of seventeenth century Dutch painting. Recent publications included a socio-economic study of artists and artisans in Delft by Montias (1982) and Sarah Markham's John Loveday of Caversham, 1711-1789: The Life and Tours of an Eighteenth Century Onlooker (1984). Also a number of general sources for Italian painting were consulted, and these included Rudolf Wittkover Art and Architecture of Italy 1600 -1750 (1958), Francis Haskell's Patrons and Painters: Art and Society in Baroque Italy (1980).

In the nineteenth century it appears to have become fashionable to update Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting in England and produce comprehensive catalogue raisonne's of paintings sold at auction sales during the late eighteenth century. These were notably John Smith's

Catalogue Raisonne of most eminent Dutch, Flemish and French painters... (1829-1842), George Redford's (1888) examination of a number of outstanding sales,<sup>13</sup> and Algernon Graves (1918) revision of Redford's work,<sup>14</sup> all failed to mention some of the earliest sales catalogues, which included data demonstrating that the acquisition of Dutch painting in English collections had taken place during the last quarter of the seventeenth century. For example, owing to insufficient evidence, Graves placed the first sale of Egbert Heemskerck's (1645 - London 1704) paintings in a sale on March 31, 1781<sup>15</sup> when we know that Heemskerck's paintings were collected during his residence in England during the late seventeenth century. The first auction sales in 1689<sup>16</sup> record a number of Heemskercks for sale (such as Lot 13, 4th May 1689, A Droll). This particular example is evidence to suggest that the collecting of seventeenth century Dutch painting by Dutch artists in England was roughly contemporary with its production. Dutch masters of greater merit were also collected, and although it is difficult to determine exactly when they were acquired, the earliest sales indicate that they must have been purchased sometime in the mid-seventeenth century. For instance, Graves recorded Franz Hals' painting of A Woman with a Ruff<sup>17</sup> in a sale dated 6th August 1722, when sales catalogues show that works by this artist were sold as early as 1690. For example, a sale on the 3rd April 1690 (lot # 39), mentioned as many as four portraits by Hals.<sup>18</sup>

A careful consideration of all of this information constitutes the basis for an in - depth analysis of the art market during the period 1689 - 1760. However, much of the information concerning the collecting of seventeenth century Dutch painting was seldom readily available and most of the information concerning the taste and popularity for Dutch painting was vague and scattered. Furthermore

sometimes eighteenth century records gave a contradictory view of the taste for Dutch painting based on personal opinion. In other cases research tended to select only the most important artists while ignoring others, and therefore the researcher was not satisfied with repeating again what others believed to be the case without seeking further evidence from primary source material.

#### 1.2.1 Recent Research

The data for this research included a survey of Fritz Lugt's Catalogue de Ventes Publiques... (1938), which was used as a general guide to indicate the frequency of auction sales during the period of this study and to locate individual sale catalogues, but no detailed information concerning the contents of each sale was provided. For example Henry and Margaret Ogden (1955) used Lugt's catalogue to determine the significant period for the growth in auction sales in England from 1689. They noted for example that there were as many as 400 sales in the space of five years which suggested that auction sales had become the established method of selling pictures and other works of art.<sup>19</sup> Gerard Reitlinger (1963) using Lugt as a source confirmed the Ogden's observations that there were more sales during the period 1689 -1692 than in the subsequent half century and that there were certainly more sales in London than in Paris for the same period.<sup>20</sup>

In 1953 Frank Simpson carried out a pioneering study of a set of two relatively unknown sales catalogues at the Victoria and Albert Museum for the years 1711 to 1759.<sup>21</sup> He identified a number of important collectors and noted that there was a significant growth of interest in Dutch painting after 1740.<sup>22</sup> Although this list of seventeenth century Dutch masters provided useful comparative information for this research it was essentially a list of the most

meritorious Dutch painters and omitted minor Dutch artists including those working in England. The main focus of this research was to expand this list to include all paintings in the sales catalogues. What was required to achieve this was a broad and open approach to illustrate how Dutch painting competed with Italian, French, German and Flemish works of art (collected at the same time), in terms of popularity, the fame of the artist, the subject matter, and price. These factors will be analysed in more detail in chapters five and six following.

Gerard Reitlinger (1963)<sup>23</sup> and Henry and Margaret Ogden (1955)<sup>24</sup> noted that the most significant period for the collecting of paintings was in the year 1689 when the advent of a Dutch King in England brought with it the sale of paintings by public auction. Reitlinger's work contributes much to a general understanding of the way in which taste affects the pricing of art, but this latter work did not deal in any great detail with the problem of collecting seventeenth century Dutch painting.

On the other hand, the Ogdens' comprehensive study of early landscape painting in England from 1630 to 1700 provided much valuable information on early collecting activity.<sup>25</sup> An analysis of paintings by subject matter for the period 1689-1700,<sup>26</sup> enabled a comparative analysis of subject matter for the same set of sales catalogues. However, chapter 5 of this thesis extended the Ogden's study by considering country of origin as an important variable for determining the propensity for collecting seventeenth century Dutch painting.

A recent thesis by Iain Pears (1984) entitled The Growth of Interest in Painting in England 1680-1768 illustrated in general way that the interest in acquiring paintings was part of a larger cultural milieu and that the intellectual and social attitudes of

the time fostered the interest in the growth of collecting paintings. This study encompassed an examination of 545 pictures at the upper end of the market, that is paintings fetching £40.0.0 or more at auction sales,<sup>27</sup> and then briefly touched on the findings of this listing in his thesis. As a result of this analysis Pears concluded that the highest prices paid were for Italian works and some noteworthy Dutch masters, but Pears was unable to provide a complete explanation for this phenomenon. He concluded that "the theoretical dominance of the Italians ...was gradually being whittled away even though this country remained the single most important source of high quality works."<sup>28</sup> However, it is doubtful that Italian painting "remained" the single most important source of high quality works as the evidence provided by this thesis suggests that the great demand for Italian painting was satisfied by a rising market of copies and fakes which were being produced by Continental and native British artists. Furthermore apart from a consideration of high prices as a measure of quality, mere titles in sale catalogues make it impossible to judge whether Italian paintings were of better quality than Dutch paintings. Referring to the evidence provided by Chapter Six it is more accurate to say that eighteenth century collectors placed greater value on Italian art and that demand brought greater competition and higher prices for Italian paintings generally than Dutch paintings in the sale room.

#### 1.3.0 Some Methodological Considerations

This thesis will challenge these previous assumptions about the value of seventeenth century Dutch painting and at the same time extend the research in this area by using random sample methods to examine such factors as average price paid at auction sales, and generally the influence of other factors such as the fame of the



artist, the subject matter, the origin of the painting when possible - to show how Dutch painting competed with other European painting but excluding Spanish paintings because of the very low frequencies. This research also considered the role of auction sales in setting bench mark prices which probably competed with the demand for the work of native British artists in the market place. The main focus of the research concerns the fact the supply and demand for seventeenth century Dutch painting and the affect of the latter on the prices paid. Since Dutch painting was noted to have been available in large numbers and at cheap prices there has been little research to determine what prices Dutch painting brought at auction sales on the average compared to Italian painting. A consideration of the extent to which price paid is related to the subject matter depicted, the origin or provenance, and the fame of the artist will form part of the analysis in Chapter Five.

An Act proclaimed by William and Mary in 1694, [6-7 William and Mary C. 7 (1694)]<sup>29</sup> entitled:

**An Act for granting to his Majesty several additional duties upon coffee, tea, chocolate and spices, toward satisfaction of the debt for transport for the reduction of Ireland.**

(effective on 1 May 1695) and henceforth called "The Act of 1695" forms the main focus of this thesis because this law permitted paintings to be imported into England for public sale for the first time in the history of collecting. Before this time paintings were only permitted entry for private use and were released upon signing a customs declaration and paying the necessary duties,<sup>30</sup> so that the latter law enabled the researcher to define collecting between two parameters both before and after the Act of 1695. That is from the beginning of auction sales in 1689 to 1694 and from 1695 to 1697. Henry and Margaret Ogden (1955) and Pears (1984)<sup>31</sup> averred that the

boom in auction sales beginning in 1689 and continuing until 1692 was due to the illegal importation of paintings in which the customs laws were suddenly circumvented with a Dutch king on the throne.<sup>22</sup> However, there is no evidence for this in the Statutes and the Treasury Warrants.<sup>23</sup> If such an event as the Ogdens suggested really occurred, one would imagine that such a large volume of paintings arriving from abroad would have attracted the attention of customs officials, prompting some documentation on the event. However, this did not occur. The original act under Edward IV and Richard III stated that no finished goods from abroad could be imported for public sale.<sup>24</sup> This did not imply however, that goods could not be imported for private use and enjoyment providing that the necessary duty was paid by the importer. In fact, there is evidence to suggest that the household goods and effects of Diplomatic personnel returning to England after a post abroad, were permitted entry free of duty. 'Household goods' undoubtedly included luxury items such as paintings which were probably purchased during their residence on the Continent.

Since the Treasury Books specifically refer to a number of warrants concerning the inspection of paintings and release of paintings providing they were for private use only and not for public sale, the assumptions made by the Ogdens and Iain Pears must be refuted on the basis of this evidence. Furthermore, prior to the 1695 Act, the inspection of paintings served two purposes: (1) to prevent competition with the local artists and craftsmen (under the acts of Edward IV and Richard III)<sup>25</sup>, and (2) to interdict material - paintings and prints - to which religious objection could be raised.<sup>26</sup> The fact that paintings were permitted for private use, but not for public sale, and the fact that Holland was a close ally encouraged people travelling to Holland for diplomatic and business purposes to purchase Dutch paintings in particular.

According to the argument presented above, therefore, it seems likely that the boom in auction sales for the period 1689-1692 represents the sales of paintings in collections already existing in England, consisting of mainly seventeenth-century imports from continental sources (acquired for private use) and paintings by contemporary artists, foreign and native, living and working in England.

An analysis of the sales catalogues before and after the Act of 1695 will test the above hypothesis and reveal the exact nature of English collections at this time. Considering the legal interdiction against religious images (domestic and imported), one would expect to find a low ratio of religious paintings (especially ones depicting the Trinity and Virgin Mary), compared to secular works.

When the Act of 1695 opened up the importation of paintings for public sale (as well as private sale), the interdiction against religious images was no longer an issue, and therefore one would expect to find a greater ratio of religious to secular works than in the period before 1695. Under Queen Anne, books and printed material in foreign languages were permitted to be imported and this reflects a general liberalizing of the laws concerning both printed and visual material as forms of propaganda. In addition, during the course of the eighteenth century, peace with France and diplomatic ties with Venice encouraged travel and collecting abroad, and also increased imports - including a wider variety of paintings from wider sources, which had not been available to collectors before.

This historical background following will outline the perceptions of eighteenth-century contemporaries and modern historians, which will be tested by the sales catalogues.

#### 1.4.0 Summary of the main issues to be considered in this research

The main issues arising out of the previous research to be considered in this study are: Firstly, there is a paucity of archival material which presents an accurate and systematic account of collecting activity during the period. Personal prejudice and bias influenced by the taste and opinion of the period have favoured certain artists while completely omitting others. Secondly, there has been very little agreement amongst writers in deciding which was the most favourable period for a growth in collecting Dutch painting. Haskell (1976) and Brown (1983) for example, placed the collecting of Dutch painting at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when a break down in aristocratic collections in Europe brought Dutch paintings of undoubted acclaim to England's shores.<sup>27</sup> However, this thesis attempts to show that a knowledge of what constituted the most meritorious paintings was in fact due to previous training and experience in collecting and trading paintings which had its beginnings in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Thirdly, it has been customary for scholars to focus their attention on a selected group of outstanding collections, and therefore one is never quite certain whether this group is representative of general collecting behaviour. Fourthly, sales catalogues have not been analysed in sufficient detail so far. The customary method used by scholars has been to select the most highly acclaimed artists instead of taking a random sample, which would be representative of collecting behaviour as a whole. So far no-one has determined the breadth and scope of the preferences which determined the essential character of eighteenth-century taste in collecting; and specifically to determine the role which Dutch painting played in this taste. Finally, there has been little research to determine whether the price paid for paintings is affected by factors of popularity and demand;

and whether this demand was related to such factors as the fame of the artist, the subject matter, the origin of the painting and the market price. Furthermore, there has been no previous research to determine how Dutch painting competed with all other kinds of painting in terms of price (ranging from lowest to highest), to test the notion that cheapness of Dutch painting had greater reach in the population and thus aided its vertical diffusion to collectors with modest incomes. An examination of the sales catalogues for the period 1711 to 1760 using random sampling methods will be used to show how Dutch painting competed in terms of price, subject matter and the fame of the artist, with other kinds of European painting.

## C H A P T E R   T W O

### THE BEGINNING OF AN ART MARKET IN ENGLAND:

#### LEGAL AND ECONOMIC DETERMINANTS

##### 2.0.0 Introduction.

The development of an art market connected with the rise of the auctioneer as a regular means of selling paintings and auctioneering as a business enterprise seems to have come into practice in 1689 with the accession of William and Mary. This event sparked volatile market for investment of all kinds, most of it largely speculative, which coincided with the frenzied buying and selling of paintings at auction sales. The subsequent five years witnessed a growth in financial management, banking, insurance and trade, linking England and Holland in a new financial and political liaison.

In other areas the non-renewal of the Licencing Act (in 1694), which had formerly restricted the printing of books and other material now opened the way for the establishment of newspapers and magazines. The immediate effect of the Revolution on paintings was a noticeable boom in the London auction sales. For the art market the chief instrument of import enlargement was the passing of the Act of 1694 encouraging the importation of luxury goods - chocolate, spices and paintings, to raise taxes principally for the "Reduction of Ireland". Before that time such revenue-raising sources had not been fully exploited for political, economic and religious reasons. Firstly, pictures to which Protestant objection could be raised were interdicted along with seditious material. Laws protecting the home production of arts and crafts dating back to the reigns of Edward IV and Richard III prevented the importation of paintings for public

sale. Although private acquisition from abroad was permitted, it was restricted to men of means, and intermittent importation due to continental warfare prevented easy acquisition of paintings from abroad until peace was declared between England and Holland in 1674. Shortly after this date, the successful sales of books by auction as a commercial enterprise prompted the sale of prints and later paintings (by freemen of the Stationers Company), both in London and the suburban areas, which assisted the diffusion of such material to occur.

This thesis argues that public sales of books and paintings (as mentioned in Chapter One) were restricted to English collections, rather than comprising of newly imported works from abroad; and although the Quo Warranto seizure of the City's Charters probably encouraged the competition of finished goods from areas outside the City, these circumstances do not appear to have had any affect on customs laws controlling the importation of paintings to London until 1694.

An examination of the history of auction sales illustrates how a rise in entrepreneurship encouraged consumption and increased the demand for paintings at auction sales. A decline in the population and economic viability of the City of London brought with it a deterioration in the power of the guilds and of certain official positions within the City Mayoralty. The official auctioneer for the city, the Outroper struggled to compete with the new dealer-auctioneers who were setting themselves up in areas outside the city. However this was not exclusive to the Corporation. The medieval guild system, protecting freemen of the city from outside competition no longer flourished as a result of depopulation and economic decline. Artists within the city could no longer compete with the growing number of artist-entrepreneurs serving the demands of a growing

population outside the city.

The decline of the city Outroper, and the development of auction sales by "public outcry" by entrepreneurs is of particular importance to this thesis, because this activity suggests that there was already an increased propensity to purchase paintings at auction sales in London. Auction houses were perhaps the only means by which the public could view works of art at first hand and at the same time encourage the buying and selling of old master paintings, in preference to the work of contemporary artists which undoubtedly resulted in the production of copies and faking by the latter in an attempt to compete with the sale of paintings by auction.

#### 2.0.1 Early Sales Activity.

The sale of paintings by auction as we know it today appears to have been an old practice dating back to the reign of Henry VII and a charter passed at this time stated that the business of auction was to be strictly confined to an officer called 'the Outroper'.' The second Parliamentary report of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the Municipal Corporations of England and Wales (1837) defined the Outroper as 'Common Crier' comprising also of Serjeant-at-Arms, who was one of the Esquires of the Lord Mayor's household, and ranked next to the Sword-bearer. The Outroper's duties involved attending the Courts of Aldermen and Common Council and Common Halls to preserve order, to make proclamations and declarations and to carry the Mace before all public occasions. Originally the Outroper's function was to take an inventory and auction the goods of orphans which was applied to a fund for their maintenance,<sup>2</sup> but in the late seventeenth century this office was expanded arbitrarily to include all deceased and indebted estates, put up for public sale within the City. Elected by an act of Common Council the Outroper had



the exclusive right to carry out auction sales within the City and continued to exclude auction sales by all other individuals.<sup>3</sup> However there were periods when the Outroper's office was suspended so that entrepreneurs with foresight seized this opportunity to advertise and begin auctioning books, prints and paintings even within close proximity to the Outroper's office. In 1674 the Outroper's office was suspended <sup>4</sup> and again during the Quo Warranto seizure of the Cities Charters in 1683 by Charles II until the charters were restored by William and Mary in 1688, (see Appendix A and D to this Chapter). At the same time the Quo Warranto seizure deprived livery companies of their Charters and also resulted in the abolition of certain offices under the Lord Mayor (including the Outroper's Office).<sup>5</sup> As a result the City and the Livery companies suffered a decline in income and also suffered a loss of credit.<sup>6</sup>

Formerly the Charters provided protection from outside competition so that artists, artisans, tradesmen who were not freemen of a City livery could not produce or sell finished goods within the City walls.<sup>7</sup> The first sale of paintings by entrepreneur - auctioneers within the City appears to have begun on in April 1688.<sup>8</sup> although there are a few examples of sales of books by 'outcry' taking place as early as June 1676, the main activity was resumed at the time of the 'Revolution':

That there is an ancient office in London confirmed by Grants of your loyal Ancestors called The Outroper office, for public sale of goods, household stuff and all such like things, with small fees allowed for performance thereof; which have for some time been discontinued and is now seized by private persons for their particular advantage, without authority. But the petitioners intend to revive it in hopes to raise something thereby towards the poor orphans relief for whom the Chamber of London is indebted.<sup>9</sup>

On the 26 June, 1688 a few months prior to the restoration of the City's Charters the Outroper sought the King's permission to extend

the Outroper's jurisdiction of auction sales to include areas outside the City in an effort to compete with the growing number of entrepreneurs who were carrying out successful sales of paintings and books in burgeoning suburban areas. The aim of the petition to the King was to extend the function of the Outroper's office to include the suburbs with the authority of the City as outlined in the following excerpt and in Appendix A.<sup>10</sup>

But the petitioners are apprehensive in that such office in London only, without a like Authority in the suburbs and Out parts of the City will be of little advantage for that the persons now taking upon them to make the said publick [sic.] sales will ... avoid the city's rights and jurisdiction. It will not be able to prevent unless your Majestie shall vouchsafe out of your piety and goodness to the poor orphans to grant unto the petitioners or some of them in trust the like office and authority for making public sales in the adjacent parts without the City.<sup>11</sup>

This can be regarded as the one example of the City Corporation's attempt to extend its control outside the City walls to resolve growing insolvency by taking advantage of the increased number of auctions in areas of growth outside the City.<sup>12</sup>

Although the City's Charters were restored with the accession of William and Mary (as explained in the London Gazette No. 2391, on 17 October, 1688) almost a year later (6 July, 1689) a petition from the House of Commons reconfirmed that the profits arising from the Outroper's Office were not only to be applied to the relief of orphans but it also recommended that a clause be added which would "... take away the power of the City of London to compel the Estates of Orphans to be brought into the Chamber of London".<sup>13</sup> This kind of coercion by the Commons suggests that the City was no longer exempt from the new Parliamentary policies whereby public revenue was appropriated by Parliament to serve national policies rather than dynastic ones or the interests of a single city such as London.<sup>14</sup> In 1693 the City Corporation declared bankruptcy and appealed to Parliament to pass a

bill for supply, so that City financing was now controlled by Parliament and thus it could no longer hold its former autonomous position. This situation becomes evident in considering the attitude of Parliament to the Outroper and the Orphan's Fund. An Act of Parliament passed on 24 June 1694 the latter no longer referred to the City's jurisdiction over the funds raised for the City's orphans. Instead Parliament agreed that taxes were to be increased on apprentices and freemen of the City Livery Companies, along with increased taxes on City land and personal property, social services which will be discussed in greater detail below .<sup>15</sup>

By 1696 the Court of Common Council considered cancelling the Outroper's office because the numbers of auctions within the City had decreased with the falling population and in addition increased competition from entrepreneur-auctioneers reduced the amount of fees paid into the Orphan's Fund so that it was no longer a profit making concern.<sup>16</sup>

#### 2.0.2 Competition between the Outroper and Entrepreneur-Auctioneers

The competition between the Outroper and the new entrepreneurs began as early as 1688 when the City's Charters were restored by William and Mary. On 18 October 1688 the Outroper was reinstated and a month later following announcement appeared in the London Gazette (26 to 29 November 1688)<sup>17</sup> confirming the position of the Outroper at this time:<sup>18</sup>

Whereas the Ancient office (called the Outroper's Office) hath been Established and used within the City and Liberties thereof, and the Borough of Southwark, for all Public Sales of goods ...; In order to the Revival of which office (for the benefit of the Orphans, to whom the Chamber of London is indebted), the Lord Mayor and the Court of Aldermen of this City have lately made an Agreement with Thomas Puckle, Citizen and Ironmonger, for the Exercise thereof; and admitted him thereunto. And the West Pawn of the Royal Exchange being the Place now Prepared forf the purpose aforesaid; It is ordered by the said Court that publick (sic.) notice be given hereof to the End all Persons making Publick (sic.) Sales of their Goods, by Outcry, Auction, Candle or otherwise, may

hereafter repair to the said Thomas Puckle, his deputies or assistants for the doing thereof; And that no person or persons do hereafter take upon them the like selling of goods by any manner of Publick (sic.) Sales, as aforesaid, within the said City and Liberties at their Peril. <sup>19</sup>

Since it was illegal for any other person save the Outroper to carry out public sales within the City this announcement resulted in an immediate decline the number of advertisements of public sales of paintings and prints by entrepreneurs intending to make public sales within the city. However, there were a few auctioneers who persisted despite the restoration of the Outroper.

In January 1689 the City intended to bring action against Edward Millington, a pioneer auctioneer for continuing to carry out auction sales books and pictures by public sale within the City.<sup>20</sup> Millington was called before the Court of Common Council but the hearing was deferred until Tuesday 14 January 1689/90 but unfortunately no extant records remain which would have given insight into the objections of the Outroper to entrepreneurial activity. <sup>21</sup> The fact that sales by Millington continued into the sixteen-nineties suggests that Millington had somehow persuaded the Court to allow auction sales of paintings to remain. A number of reasons for this seem plausible and that is that Millington may have come to a private agreement with the Outroper or was able to circumvent the law in some way, perhaps by obtaining a brokers licence or through membership in the Stationers Company. In fact documentary evidence shows that large number of these early auctioneers were also freemen of the Stationers Company and since the sale of books as intellectual property was somehow exempt from the Outroper's domain so too the sale paintings by these latter members may have also been ignored.<sup>22</sup> In fact Stationers Company records indicate that Millington 'translated' membership from the Haberdashers Company to the Stationers Company as early as May 1685 probably with the intention of commencing auction sales of books and

prints.<sup>23</sup> Another possibility concerns the idea that books, prints and paintings had traditionally been awarded an elevated status as intellectual property (having the potential to convey political propaganda) compared to mere household goods and furnishings. In addition, the sale of books and printed material required that the licensee to have a specialist knowledge in order to acquire a licence.<sup>24</sup> In this case Millington may have won an appeal on the grounds that the Outroper was not qualified to make sales of such specialist items. It is also possible that auctioneer-entrepreneurs might have obtained permission, for each auction, providing that they paid fees to the Outroper which could then be applied to the Orphans Fund. Some of the most frequently mentioned venues for the sale of paintings by Millington and Walford, were Tom's Coffee House in Pope's Head Alley in Cornhill, and Barbadoes Coffee House in Exchange Alley, (against the Royal Exchange) the latter was situated not far from the Outroper's office at the west end of the Royal Exchange, a convenient location for moneyed men to translate material assets like paintings into cash and invest in government bonds or securities which attended the speculative boom in auction sales in 1689. Another favourite venue was at The Bear in Ave Maria Lane, Ludgate, also within the City. Auctions appear to have continued at these locations despite objections from the Outroper's office. However, sales outside the City became far more frequent. There was an Auction House for pictures in the West End in St. Albans Street near the Haymarket and Pall Mall, which was also used for a variety of purposes, such as balls, routs, exhibitions and for auction sales of pictures.<sup>25</sup> Newspaper advertisements of auction sales in 1689 indicate that Millington drew an a well-to-do auction audience in fashionable resorts like Tunbridge Wells and he also held auctions annually thereafter at Sturbridge Fair near Cambridge.<sup>26</sup> The location of Millington's

auction house "the Vendu" next to Bedford Gate (originally Chamber Street), Covent Garden was in the heart of one of the most fashionable quarters for the nobility, gentlemen and men of rank which must have contributed to his success.<sup>27</sup>

In fact the wealthiest members of London's central community "were not tightly clustered but straggled from East to West", with a cluster around St. Helens, surrounded by poorer parishes on the periphery. Outside the City in the West End, where theoretically one would expect the very poorest to live, was another cluster of parishes with "large dwellings" which, according to Power (1986), "apparently rivaled the City in wealth and extent".<sup>28</sup> Beginning with the "legal quarter" (St. Andrew Holborn), St. Dunstan in the West and Rolls Liberty, St. Clement Danes, and continuing further West, around the curves of the river to the Duchy of Lancaster Liberty which included wealthy residences of The Strand, St. Pauls, Covent Garden, and St. Martin-in-the-Fields, were the residential areas of statesmen, aristocrats and gentlemen of wealth. A migration of moneyed men from the City to the West end <sup>29</sup> during the last decade of the seventeenth century was due in part to a decline in population within the City, but more importantly to the fact that the City's trade was in the doldrums, unemployment was high, taxes were excessive and the rental gain on property was not high enough to warrant spending on maintenance so that the physical appearance of property in the City deteriorated into tenements inhabited by lower income groups, but later when rental property in the City rose the latter moved out to "less salubrious" suburbs. The spirit of free trade and business enterprise in suburban areas created a bouyant market and encouraged a growth in the population all of which competed to bring about a depreciation in the City's economy leading to the eventual decline in the City Livery Companies.

An increase in the numbers of public sales of old master paintings both within the City of London and in the suburbs by members of the Stationers Company and non-freemen, undermined the profitability of the City Outroper so that by 1696 there is evidence that the Court of Common Council considered cancelling the office because it was no longer a profitable concern.<sup>20</sup> However, the decline of the Outroper's office was not an isolated event but appears to have been symptomatic of the general decay of the City Corporation which has been outlined above. This decline was not only due to economic reasons but due in part to corruption and bad administration. In fact there is one particular instance recorded where the Court of Common Council requested permission to inspect the records of Mr. Puckle the Outroper, however, the report stated that Puckle's records were in such disarray and were so illegible that the Council could not take any action and therefore dismissed the case.<sup>21</sup> Turning to the Journals of the House of Commons, an appeal to Parliament dated 30th. November, 1693 (see Appendix C) illustrates the city's predicament.<sup>22</sup> Kellett noted that the decline of the City Corporations was only part of a much larger problem concerning the economic and financial failure of the City. This situation was further exacerbated by a loss of income due to the growth of population and trade beyond the City walls. In 1688 the Orphans debt totalled £750,000, so that by 1691 and 1692 the Corporation applied to Parliament to settle its debt to the City Orphans. The reasons for the City's bankruptcy in 1693 and the decline in the power of the Livery Companies as been summarized by Kellet (1952):

As the companies lost their central position in London's economic life, the significance and function of the Corporation began to change. The Corporation did not crumble altogether instead it crystallized into a ceremonial and honorific body. Its administrative duties were either delegated to functional bodies or neglected. It lost touch

with the economic resources of the capital which it had enjoyed during the Civil War and in the early years of the Restoration. After the 1660's the Corporation ceased to be the channel through which the private resources of London's citizens found outlet. Although large loans were again raised via the Corporation for King William's armies, the use of the Corporation's seal was a mere formality, the money was not paid into the Chamber, as it had been formerly but was ordered to be transmitted directly to the Royal Exchequer. After 1694 first the Bank of England then the funded National Debt, took over from the Corporation the function of transmitting the capital available in London to the Central Government.<sup>33</sup>

City livery companies were also affected by these latter circumstances , but the main reason for a fall in membership was due in part to a decline in commercial activity which was accompanied by a decline in population. At the same time it was the "growth in residential and commercial areas outside the corporations jurisdiction", what Kellet called "an eclipse" within the City "of economic groups which had been most closely associated with the municipal government"<sup>34</sup> which caused the City's decline. A deterioration of the old civic guilds and the breakdown of the freedom, with its privileges and protection, probably forced artists to seek work in growing suburban areas where rent and taxes were also cheaper. As a result suburban growth in trade and manufacture combined to bring about the City's economic decline.<sup>35</sup>

One such example of this change in the commercial focus is that markets for country produce were no longer being set up in the City. The best example is Covent Garden, which was founded in the 1670's. In the 1680's new markets in the suburbs opened at the rate of one per year. <sup>36</sup> The Outropers petition in the 1680's shows that the City Corporation's opposition to these new markets was largely disregarded.<sup>37</sup> Neither the Corporation's appeal to the City's chartered rights, nor their concern that a new market would compete with trade in the City, could not stop the expansion of trade and industry outside the City.<sup>38</sup>



An examination of Fritz Lugt's list of the sales from 1682 to 1692 (Sale Catalogues No. 6 (a) to No. 135) from the inception of sales to the end of the boom period indicates just how lean a time the Outroper's office had compared to private auctioneers. There were only a handful of sales by the Outroper compared to well over one hundred sales by entrepreneur-auctioneers for the same period of time which is a clear indication of the resiliency of the market. <sup>39</sup> Another set of indices gleaned from the advertisements in the London Gazette indicated that out of a total of ninety-nine sales advertised in 1691 only seven of these were 'performed' by the Outroper. <sup>40</sup> Vigorous auctioning of paintings was being carried out by entrepreneur-auctioneers who were catering to a rising moneyed clientele in Covent Garden and areas to the West.

### 2.0.3 Fees Charged for Auctioning Goods.

One of the main reasons for the success of the entrepreneurs concerns the fact that fees charged by the Outroper seem to have been higher than those of the former. This means that people were less inclined to use the services of the Outroper, and as a result auction sales by the latter diminished and so too did the fees to be applied to the Orphan's Fund. For example Pears (1984) noted that the Outroper's office charged "a farthing in every shilling plus one shilling in the pound for writing and keeping books, plus one shilling in the pound for crying goods".<sup>41</sup> These were called the "Ancient Fees" according to a charter of Elizabeth I, (Chapter 113). On the other hand, entrepreneurs charged six pence in the pound for an "ordinary auction" and 1/6d for "more experienced specialists" such as Christopher Cock and Abraham Langford in the eighteenth century. This difference in price seems to have been considerable. For instance Pears considered that "for someone selling £500. worth of

paintings, ... the Outroper would have charged £60.8.0. and a private auctioneer £12.10.0 and Cock £37.5.0", as outlined in Appendix D.<sup>42</sup> However, further research of Guildhall records shows that a petition to the Corporation's Common Council indicates that the main concern of the Corporation Outroper's office was to increase the revenue for the relief of the Orphans, and the Corporation proposed to bring private auctioneers under the authority of the Outroper's office. Under this petition, the Corporation proposed lowering the rates charged for auctioneering goods within the City, by both the Outroper, and for private companies still operating in the City, "so that it [the fees] would not be a burden to them [the seller]. It stated that : "All Sales within £200. to pay the ancient fees"(as noted above) but the new rates were outlined as follows:

|        |             |        |      |   |       |   |        |
|--------|-------------|--------|------|---|-------|---|--------|
| £200   | to          | £500   | 2%   | = | £4.00 | - | £10.00 |
| 500    | to          | 1,000  | 1½%  | = | 7.50  | - | 15.00  |
| 1,000  | to          | 5,000  | 1%   | = | 10.00 | - | 50.00  |
| 5,000  | to          | 10,000 | ½%   | = | 25.00 | - | 50.00  |
| 10,000 | and upwards |        | 1/4% | = | 25.00 | - | 50.00  |

(see Appendix D.) <sup>43</sup>

The Corporation hoped that this lower rate schedule would encourage more sales to take place in the City ( supposedly under the Outroper), since these rates were well within those charged by entrepreneur-auctioneers. However, the petition stated that the new rates aimed to "settle fees" charged, and "reduce the number of private companies working in the City", probably by encouraging sellers to go to the Outroper rather than an entrepreneur.

It is obvious that these lower fees would have been of little benefit to the private entrepreneur-auctioneer, who, in order to make a profit would have been required to charge the seller a fee over and above the much reduced Outroper's fees. This of course would have made the practice of auctioning by private individuals more expensive and thus less competitive, which is exactly what the Outroper

intended. This evidence seems to suggest that such controls imposed by the Corporation Outroper was the only measure available to protect the City's interests from the increasing numbers of auctioneers who were successfully carrying out sales both within city and in the suburbs.<sup>44</sup>

The Journals of the House of Commons indicate that on 6 July, 1689 the House was called to consider a bill for the Relief of the Orphans of the City of London, resolving "that the profits arising by the Outroper's office be applied towards the further payment of the Orphans fund, and furthermore the Commons resolved that the estates of orphans were henceforth to be brought in to the Chamber of London .<sup>45</sup> This was the beginning of a change in administration in which Parliament imposed taxes on Livery Companies which would be applied to the Orphan's Fund. Briefly again in connection with competition and Corporation's need to increase income,- when the Outroper sought to extend his authority beyond the City's boundaries, to compete with private auctioneers - Parliament reacted by restricting the jurisdiction of the city including the Outroper's office and even considered cancelling the special duty of the outroper as auctioneer for the estates of orphans.<sup>46</sup> A further stipulation was added which stated that the funds be registered, in order to ensure that the funds collected for the relief of orphans would not be misappropriated.

When the new 1694 'Act for the Relief of the Orphans and other Creditors of the City of London' <sup>47</sup> came into effect it stipulated that fees would be levied on the binding of apprentices and freemen of the livery companies, along with taxes on city land, personal estates, coal (for metage, per caldron and per ton) and taxes were also levied on imported wine, lighting and for aquaducts, in support of the Funds. The tax upon the binding of apprentices of

livery companies required the payment of two shillings and six pence twice a year, beginning on 24th June, 1694. In addition, every person admitted as freeman of the City, was expected to pay the Mayor, a tax of five shillings, including the above mentioned livery company fee of two shillings and six pence and five shillings.<sup>49</sup>

#### 2.0.4 Auction Sales and Taxation : 1688 to 1695

The economic conditions which gave rise to the beginning of the sale of paintings by auction during the succession of William and Mary in 1689 can be summarized succinctly as follows: Although national trade was generally depressed during the period after 1688, domestic production and inter-city trade prospered. Continental wars brought trade to a halt in 1685 and an increase in the public debt produced by "wartime taxation and remittances abroad for military expenditure - the Jones's affect - was to transfer growth to exports." <sup>49</sup> Dietz (1986) noted that domestic production and consumption increased instead through trade from London to provincial towns.<sup>50</sup> A growth outside the City, and intercity trading brought increased domestic activity. Increased exports to serve a Continental army, government contracts, and naval construction appears to have stimulated the economy, <sup>51</sup> and under these circumstances there was a surplus of liquidity which could be applied to reducing the Public Debt.

After 1689 it was the Governments need to acquire cash to carry on the war with France which led to an increase in taxation - first on all individuals through a Poll Tax <sup>52</sup>and then over the period until 1692 taxes on tonnage in the form of duties on beer and salt which were set aside in the form of life-annuities paying 10 per cent

interest until 1700. <sup>53</sup> It was the formation of the Bank of England on the 1 January 1695 which gave security to public funds at 8 per cent interest annually, and this helped to stimulate investments in commerce and industry. Previously the sudden speculative behaviour characterised by a boom in auction sales indicated that the money market was extremely volatile, there was no security and interest rates were variable at between 10 and 30 per cent. <sup>54</sup> But with the formation of the Bank of England After 1695 both the government and the public could borrow at lower interest rates stimulating public investment in new commercial ventures.

For the art market this activity effected changes which do not appear to have had a direct causal relationship but undoubtedly affected the volatility of the investment in the art market from its rise in 1689 to its nadir in 1691. The fashion for selling paintings by public sale seems to have caught public attention, so that by 1691 sales peaked with a total of 92 sales but declined sharply thereafter so that by 1694 sales had slumped to a low of 34 sales for that year.

The reason for this decline in the once buoyant market was probably due to the fact that there was a sudden and mad craze to liquidate paintings which naturally led to a saturation of the market. This resulted in the lowering of prices even for the better paintings and thus eventually led to a slump which did not fully recover until the 1720's. In 1689 Parliament won public support to raise funds by a Poll Tax for the 'Reduction of Ireland' and thereafter to fight 'a vigorous war against France' <sup>55</sup> It was probably the need for liquidity which sparked off the sudden sales of paintings and this was fuelled by the fact that investors could put cash into other highly speculative ventures where the promise of a quick return kept the market bouyant. These circumstances offered the public the opportunity to compare the gains made by investing in paintings with

lotteries or through short-term investments in public funds. For example even as early as 1674 a former landowner noted that there were greater returns to be gained by investing in public funds than in land<sup>56</sup> indicates that investors were considering opportunity cost and the relative gain by 'weighing' one investment against another. By 1691 the fervour which sparked the boom had cooled and in the same year a quarterly Poll Tax was passed which superceded the 1689 tax and assessments were redefined to include "all persons ... having any estate in ready Monies or Debts, or having any Estate in Goods, Wares or other Personal Estate... deducting Monies *bona fide* owing and desperate Debts..." were to pay four shillings in the pound and twenty-four shillings for every hundred pounds of goods.<sup>57</sup> However household-stuff and stock upon land and the joint stocks of companies were exempt from tax under this clause. This suggests that the government wanted savings and the sale of goods to be applied to reducing indebtedness, but household stuff which included paintings being exempt from this rule suggests that the latter could be traded as kind or sold without incurring tax payments (except on the balance after payment of debts) thus offering little incentive to trade paintings in the art market. On the other hand, Section II of the Poll Tax stated all persons having an Estate in ready moneys or in any Debt ...owing to them or having any Goods, Wares, Merchandizes or other Chattels or Personall Estates... belonging or in trust to them and also stock upon land and such Goods as are used for household stuffe...and except joynt [sic.] stock..." <sup>58</sup> were required to pay four shillings in the pound. In fact the latter clause suggests that those receiving funds would be taxed, but it seems to have been a case of 'giving with one hand and taking with the other'. The Poll Tax does not appear to have encouraged the accumulation of funds received from debtors or in the case of household stuff- the

acquisition of paintings from deceased estate nor did it attract numerous purchases at auction sales. Instead the government invited the public to invest in tax exempt joint stock ventures and to lend rather than hoard cash savings. It is evident from a decline in the frequency of auction sales in 1691 that the Poll Tax seems to have depressed the volatile buying and selling which took place at the beginning of the Revolution. This situation put an end to the boom in the art market and as a result there was no change in the frequency of sales until after 1714. There were efforts to increase taxes on the consumption of luxury goods when paintings were first imported for public sale on 1 May 1695 at 20 per cent ad valorem for moneyed men who wanted to acquire paintings from abroad, but auction sales did not show any sign of being affected by these new circumstances during this period. Again this is confirmation that the government encouraged the public to save as a means of reducing the Public Debt and the establishment of the Bank of England gave them a secure return on their investment in the funds so that public funds were channelled by Government pressure to serve the interests of the nation during this transitional period in the development of a market for auction sales of paintings.

Under the Poll Tax the most severely encumbered were the landed interests (for example those with two houses paid double taxes) and the poor also suffered under this scheme. However, the Quarterly Poll amended the 1689 Poll Tax by giving exemptions to servants and day-labourers and to children under sixteen years of age <sup>59</sup> which indicates that there was an attempt to improve conditions for the poor and underprivileged as a whole. This is pertinent only in regard to the fact that contemporary artists sometimes fell into this latter group and that improvements in the general economy would have

encouraged the production and demand for the acquisition of paintings by contemporary artists. However conditions particularly for the poor and economically depressed contemporary artist did not improve to any great extent until the seventeen-thirties. In this period moneyed interests assumed more of the financial responsibility for social welfare of the poor and there appears to have been a spin-off in financial support to include living artists. St Bartholomew's Hospital employed Hogarth and Captain Coram's Foundling Hospital became the focus for private patronage of British artists. The latter institution was a venue for the display of paintings by native artists who were trying to attract thereby an audience amongst wealthy patrons and benefactors of the hospital notably Dr. Mead the physician to the Crown, Charles Jennens and the composer Frederick Handel.

#### 2.1.0 The Importation of Paintings Prior to the 1694 Statute and the Composition of English Collections.

Although a small number of auction sales of paintings and prints took place before the 1689 boom period, these appear to have been the "experimental" beginnings which gave rise to a speculative boom in "commercial" auction sales of paintings mainly outside the City of London, commencing in 1689 and continuing to about 1692. The reasons for the sudden speculative boom have been discussed in greater detail in the section above but in addition there were a number of other commercial structures which helped to foster the development of an art market must be considered in detail here. For example, The Act of 1695 permitting paintings to be imported for public sale seems to have occurred at the same time as the establishment of other revenue raising resources, - the non-renewal



of the licencing act for books; the foundation of the Bank of England and other credit producing systems. The introduction of these new systems provided the necessary infra-structure for the development of international trade and banking undoubtedly facilitated the importation of paintings for public sale.

The dilemma concerning the importation of paintings from abroad for public sale arises from the fact that the Ogdens (1976) averred that the sudden boom in sales commencing in 1689 was the result of the importation of paintings into England which were suddenly permitted entry coinciding with a Dutch King on the throne.<sup>60</sup> They assumed that this was also due to the fact that the King encouraged importation of paintings from Holland to help Dutch dealers.<sup>61</sup> The reasons for this have been outlined in chapter three following but briefly, the evidence suggests that this might have been due to the fact that the art market in Holland was experiencing a slump at this time, however, there is no evidence for this in the Treasury Papers.

Referring back to the protectionist policies of Edward IV (3 Edw. 4 Ch. 4, 1463/4) and Richard III (1 Rich. III. Ch.12, 1483) which prevented the importation of finished goods (including paintings and painted paper goods), it seems unlikely that paintings would have been permitted entry without some revision in the existing customs laws. An examination of the Treasury Papers indicated that paintings were permitted entry, however, providing they were for one's own personal (that is, "private") use, and not for public sale,<sup>62</sup> and no new laws were passed by the King to supercede the latter until 1695.

The Ogdens noted that after 1689 no more warrants permitting the entry of paintings were issued by customs officials and therefore they assumed that customs officials must have "relaxed" the laws, thereby permitting paintings to be imported for public sale.<sup>63</sup> Since

there is no evidence to suggest that such changes in the law occurred, and that paintings under the existing law stated that paintings were not permitted entry for public sale. In fact the evidence in support of the hypothesis suggests that the 1689-91 boom in auction sales probably represented paintings which were already in English collections by this date and the causes were connected to a sudden craze to speculate and a need to liquidate material assets to support national interests . The evidence provided in chapter five shows the composition of collecting during the period of William 's succession and shows that the alliance with Holland after 1672 had a marked influence on the acquisition of Dutch painting. As one would expect the collections also showed a number of paintings by seventeenth century English artists and also included high frequencies of Dutch artist working in England. Since not all of the legal evidence is available one can only speculate that paintings were acquired through travel abroad and by private contract and sale from dealers who imported paintings from Holland. The following arguments relating to both customs and excise, and the economic conditions in England will throw more light on this subject.

A search through the Statutes-at-Large <sup>64</sup> and the Index Vectigalium (1670) <sup>65</sup> covering customs and excise regulations for the seventeenth century, illustrated the general working principals of the customs laws which were enacted by Charles II to encourage a growth in trade along with improved regulations concerning the collecting of excise .

These laws made no specific reference to the importation of paintings. The statutes indicated that during this period efforts had been made to prevent the smuggling of goods (such as paintings) into English ports through efficient collecting of excise duty and by increasing surveillance to discourage illegal activity which would

have competed with domestic production (of paintings) within the City. One such statute entitled Laws Regulating the Proceedings of Merchants and Owners of Goods stated that "every merchant or other person, or their agents shall subscribe on his bills of entry, inward, or outward, with the mark number and contents of every parcel of such Goods", in which the duty was charged by piece (as in paintings) or according to size and weight, for each parcel.<sup>66</sup> Under these circumstances it would have been difficult to import large quantities of paintings (as described in the boom) for public sale without attracting the particular attention of customs officials.

On the other hand, there is some evidence, if somewhat tentative to suggest that the Quo Warranto seizure which occurred over a 5 year period from 1683 to 1689, might have permitted goods to be freely imported into London as a means of increasing revenue. One example showed that merchants living outside the City could trade in and out of London without paying the necessary alien duties.<sup>67</sup> However, this does not seem to have affected the importation of paintings for public sale, as customs warrants still continued to record declarations on entry confirming that paintings were still permitted entry for private use only, until 1689, when the City's charters were again restored.

The most significant deterrent for the importation of paintings generally during the boom period (1689-1691/2) was the outbreak of war against France with England and Holland as allies which seems to have caused a slump in trade overall; and must have also hindered travel and study abroad, along with the collecting of paintings for private use. However, considering the fact that Holland and England were allies after 1672 one would expect to find a large numbers of seventeenth century Dutch and Flemish paintings in English collections during the last quarter of the century.

Returning again to the difficulties of importing for public sale before 1695, general economic conditions as discussed by Wilson suggests that the purchase of such large quantities of paintings from Continental sources by English dealers would have required considerable financial backing and would have involved high risks in a new and uncertain market, without an attorney system to handle the transfer of funds in and out of the country. Concerning large scale shipments, the evidence suggests that the risks were high, and that the financial, infrastructure (insurance, banking, credit, attorney system) had not yet been established, in order to make the importation of paintings a profitable and risk-free concern for dealers and private collectors until 1694/5.

#### 2.1.2 Sales in the Period After 1694

For the years following 1694 until about 1720 the slump settled down to an average of only two or three sales per year. The South Seas "Bubble" of 1720/1 appears to have caused a slide in the supply of paintings from abroad, (see Tables of "Imports Paintings to London 1697-1760" in Appendix Chapter Three ), but the situation was shortlived so that by 1721 onwards this situation had begun to improve. A bill authorizing changes in the means of levying duties on paintings from 20% ad valorem<sup>62</sup> to a duty based on an average measurement (small, medium, large) was proposed by Mr. Broderick (M.P.) in 1721 (Appendix I).<sup>63</sup>

The Act entitled: 'An Act for Raising the duty ...according to the respective dimensions of such Pictures...' was proclaimed by Parliament in 1721 and henceforth became popularly known as Broderick's Act. For the importer of paintings this act tended to lower the overall rate of customs duty on paintings imported from

abroad, particularly paintings of rare merit, and as a result the new law had the effect of reducing fraud. The table of imports in the Appendix of chapter three shows that as soon as Broderick's Act came into effect, imports of paintings increased. Holland was the leader in exporting paintings to London followed by Italy, but after 1721 the importation of Italian paintings far outstripped any other country in terms of volume alone. However, compared with other European paintings, Holland was the chief competitor over the period 1696-1760, as indicated by the Table of Imports (Appendix Chapter Three ).

George Vertue, writing in 1722 underlines the effect of Broderick's Act on the market for original works:

This gentleman (Mr. Broderick) it was that bought a Bill into the House of Commons to pass an Act for importing of pictures into England paying according to size. From 10 shillings each picture [sic] to four pounds the most. When as before it was ad valorem and caus'd great roguery and false swearing, and prevented the best or very good pictures to come in the customs mounting so high. & instead of that copies were brought in and sold for originals & the curious deceiv'd & since this Act already many good pictures are brought in and few copies since this twelve month. <sup>70</sup>

Customs records show that the actual rates levied for imported paintings were in fact higher than those recorded by Vertue. The duty charged was £1.10.0 for paintings less than two feet square; £3.15.0 for paintings between two and four feet square ; and £5.00.0 for paintings above four feet square.<sup>71</sup>

When the new import duties became effective on 25 March 1722 there was a noticeable increase in the numbers of great collectors notably, Henry Hoare, Sir Robert Walpole, Sir Paul Methuen, and General Guise who apparently took the opportunity to import foreign paintings and benefit from the new law .<sup>72</sup> Artists like Arthur Pond acted as middlemen (dealer and agent) for the collector Richard Houlditch Senior and others.<sup>73</sup> At this time also two of the earliest art dealers and auctioneer-entrepreneurs, Andrew Hay and Christopher Cock (who were also associates of Pond), began successful businesses

importing and selling continental art, and the former made a number of trips to the continent, particularly to Holland, to acquire paintings. Unfortunately, a paucity of detailed information about these two dealers has prevented a detailed study of business transactions they might have made between dealers abroad.

Fritz Lugt's list of catalogues indicated that over the next thirty years there was a steady improvement in the art market with an average of five sales per year, accelerating after 1750 to about 13 per year. These factors seem to be consistent with contemporary reports, and customs records (Importation of Paintings) and is supported by modern scholarship. George Vertue (1731) noted an improvement in the production and sale of art which he attributed to peaceful times permitting travel abroad.<sup>74</sup> The graph of imports of paintings in the appendix of this thesis best illustrates the effect of supply on the art market. First of all, a regular and uninterrupted trade existed between England and Holland throughout the entire period of this study, from 1696 to 1760. The graph shows the extent to which paintings imported from Holland competed with Italian and French paintings particularly during times of conflict when trade with the latter countries was severed. A comparison of the importation of paintings with book imports for the period 1700-1780, almost forms a mirror image of the graph for paintings indicating the degree to which the importation of literature paralleled the importation of paintings. At the same time the graph shows how periods of war interrupted the supply of paintings into England. Giles Barber's (1984) analysis, entitled Book Imports and Exports, indicates that throughout the War of Spanish Succession "Holland was virtually the only source of books for Britain and the strong links already established were undoubtedly well exploited in the postwar period." (see Table of Book Imports in the Appendix to Chapter

Three).<sup>75</sup> The period 1722 to 1730 recorded a rise in Dutch imports followed by an unprecedented rise in Italian and simultaneous increase in French imports of paintings. For books "the period 1724 to 1729 saw outstanding figures both for unbound books and for older bound books... and may well represent the wholesale importation of foreign libraries for sale by auction in this country".<sup>76</sup> The war of the Austrian Succession (1740-50/1) caused an overall decline in the importation of paintings (as shown in the Graph of Imports of Paintings into England in Appendix Chapter Three). During the war with France and the Jacobite Rebellion a few years later in 1745, the trade in paintings was cut off from all major suppliers except Holland, which was clearly the strongest supplier of paintings for the period 1748-50. This was paralleled again by the book trade, and Barber notes that "in the later 1740's the final years of the war ... caused a very considerable general reduction in trade, and while the Dutch figures recover particularly during the Seven Years War and are in the end frequently equalled by those of the French, who, after the Napoleonic Wars totally eclipse them".<sup>77</sup> Concerning the importation of books, Barber says, "Considering the import field overall one finds Holland well in the lead, clearly followed by France which is particularly strong in trade in bound books but more particularly in the years after 1740. Italy and Venice are in third place, with Flanders and Germany equal fourth".<sup>78</sup> However, concerning content, Barber notes that the type of books supplied by each side was largely the same :

... consisting of an almost equal amount for classical studies and for sciences and a rather smaller amount of novels or philosophical reading, the Dutch perhaps preferring science slightly (including works by other European scientists, ordered through the Low Countries), while the English stressed classical studies.<sup>79</sup>

This suggests that the increased propensity to collect classical books paralleled a similar increase in the acquirement of a taste for classical painting such as mythological and allegorical histories which became popular and were more easily acquired after 1694 when paintings were permitted entry into England for public sale.

The evidence indicates that the peculiar economic and political circumstances which existed during the seventeenth century undoubtedly encouraged the acquisition of seventeenth century Dutch painting produced by Dutch artists working in England and also Dutch paintings collected by travellers and diplomatic personnel while residing in Holland. This is supported in greater detail by the analysis of the sales catalogues for the period 1689 to 1694 in Chapter Four below. In addition documentary evidence provided by Frank Simpson's (1953) brief analysis of the Houlditch Sales Catalogues, noted that there was considerable growth in sales of seventeenth century Dutch painting after the 1740's;<sup>90</sup> and Franz Lugt's list of sales catalogues indicates an annual increase in sales after 1750. An analysis of the sales catalogues for the years after 1695 but more importantly for the period from 1711 to 1759 covered by the Houlditch sales catalogues at the Victoria and Albert Museum library enables a study to be made to show how Dutch painting competed with Italian and other European paintings in terms of frequency in numbers, price and subject matter. These factors will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Five below.

#### **2.2.0 Decline of the Painters - Stainers Company and the rise of Entrepreneurship.**

The decline of the Painters-Stainers Company was closely related to a deterioration in the economic life of the guilds which



seems to have accompanied a rise in the development of the independent artist as an entrepreneur. Many of the same conditions outlined above which led to the decline of the Outroper's Office and the Livery Companies were responsible for the fall in the Painters Company membership. Briefly the main causes were related to the fact that there had been a movement of a wealthier population to areas outside the City, which encouraged new commercial ventures to spring up and after 1688 new companies were being formed without the need for Royal or Parliamentary charter.<sup>21</sup> In this bouyant economic climate artists sought commissions from an upwardly mobile middling and upper class groups in areas outside the City where membership of the Painters-Stainers company was not required.

Since the Painters-Stainers Company had already lost its control over the production of art within the City, membership no longer carried its former privileges and economic advantages. Moreover the higher fees certainly would not have encouraged a growth in membership, since the only advantages were social and ceremonial. According to Kellet this change in the function of the livery companies was due to the fact that the London companies no longer had control over entry to the art and craft industries, so that there was a shift in the balance of wealth from the ceremonial companies to speculative companies and to private individuals.<sup>22</sup>

During the Restoration the problem of shortages in the supply of imported goods from abroad due to continual conflict were resolved by encouraging immigration from the Low Countries. Historically, competition from the Dutch and French in the Mediterranean drove the English to flourishing markets in Northern Europe, but more especially trade with Holland. A disastrous war against France in 1672 led Charles II to provide special inducements

to encourage Hollanders to settle in England. The King's declaration as outlined in Appendix E offered naturalization, free entry to all household goods and chattels and a clause to accept Dutch vessels as English denizens.<sup>83</sup> In fact the researchers survey of such sources as Buckeridge and Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting in England presented as a histogram in the Appendix of this chapter confirms that there were more foreign artists working in England during Charles II 's reign than at any other time.

Dutch migrants made a significant contribution to the economy at a time when domestic production required skilled labour to satisfy shortages in the building and weaving industries so that there were always periods when foreigners and others not free of the City tried to compete where they could without being discovered by policing methods employed by guilds. This kind of illegal activity included painters who were not freemen of the Painters-Stainers Company and also included artists who copied portraits of the Crown and engravers operating without a licence.

Protectionist policies under the guild enabled them to object to any business which might pose a competitive threat to its members,<sup>84</sup> so that in 1675 when Charles II proposed 'An Act for the Encouragement of the Arts' the City's Court of Common Council convened to discuss the matter. The court ordered that the Common Sergeant (that is the Outroper) should inspect the bill and as a result the City decided to exercise a veto against it. This is but a single example to illustrate the fact that the autonomous role of the City and the medieval protectionism of the companies meant that they were unable to adapt to the changing economic circumstances.

The decline in membership of the Painters-Stainers Company is clearly indicated by Surry's indices (1981) which shows that in 1664 the Company had "above 400 householders within and about the City of

London, besides their families"; and in "1699 there were said to be 159 liverymen, but in 1724 this had declined to 141".<sup>65</sup> In addition using Kellet's study (1952) Surry showed that from 1700 to 1710 the average annual enrolment of apprentices into the Painters-Stainers Company was 40.0 while in 1740-1750 the average enrolment had dropped to as little as 13.0 members <sup>66</sup>

In the first quarter of the eighteenth century the ceremonial function of the Painters-Stainers company became the dominant role and attracted a small membership by sign painters and minor artists in addition to eminent masters employed by the court and artistocratic households - notably Godfried Kneller and Sir James Thornhill for traditional rather than economic reasons - to show allegiance to the Crown and to honour the ancient authority of the Company and its Charters.

With the decline of guild support entrepreneur-artists were probably forced to seek opportunities to paint for a wider audience of aristocratic patrons and merchants who had a variety of investments in land as well as in the money market with a disposable income to purchase paintings by contemporary artists. However it appears that the Quarterly Poll Tax first imposed in 1691 discouraged spending and the consumption of art.<sup>67</sup> In 1688 it was the absence of secure banking and credit facilities which produced a rash of speculation in commercial ventures, in lotteries and joint-stock companies<sup>68</sup>; the price of land had escalated and metals of all kinds were being hoarded<sup>69</sup> so that there was no lack of capital to invest in paintings. In fact it was this sudden speculative activity which fuelled a volatile market for the sale of paintings by auction sale which began in 1689. For the native contemporary artist as entrepreneur the opportunities which auction sales offered to consumers of art must have posed a considerable threat to his

survival. Without the protection of a guild or academy, and no exhibition halls or places to advertise it must have been difficult for contemporaries to get the kind of exposure required to sell paintings. In fact all of the variety of subject matter available in the auction room must have been similar to the alternative brands offered by producers in today's market, and no doubt the competition was just as fierce. There are even instances in the eighteenth century where William Hogarth reacted against the competition of auction sales of old master paintings by publishing such satirical genre as The Battle of the Pictures. Another work entitled Time Smoking a Picture warned the public about the hazards of purchasing copies and fakes of old masters at auction sales, suggesting at the same time that there were greater advantages in supporting the contemporary artist. Such novelty provided entertainment to the public, and won Hogarth a following amongst collectors of portraiture and genre.

An insight into collecting during the last quarter of the seventeenth century through Pepys Diary suggests that contemporaries adapted to competition by offering interested buyers something that the auctions could not, and that was contemporary portraits, cheaper copies of favourite family portraits<sup>20</sup> and engraved portraits. There was also a viable market for portraits of historical figures which were usually copies after originals by eminent court painters such as Sir Anthony van Dyck or Sir Peter Lely. Consumers also admired decorative flower paintings and landscapes which were often used to fill in wall space over doorways and above fireplaces. Occasionally the works of contemporary artists were advertised in newspapers of the period through the artist himself, or through dealers on the occasion of a deceased estate sale or in order to clear stock. Otherwise direct

advertising was not commonly practised and the work of contemporaries generally became known through word of mouth.<sup>21</sup> Prices for contemporary works appear to have been more expensive than paintings at auction sale and there is evidence that after 1691 the prices of originals were depreciated by the numbers of copies and fakes as bullish prices began to fall to bare. The following letter from Sir Charles Hatton to an unknown correspondent dated January 28th 1691/2

best illustrates the effect of oversupply on prices at auctions sales.

As to my pictures, I have a good many of Sir Peter Lillyes [sic], which I am told will not yield near wt.[sic.][what] they cost; and I doubt those of more esteeme will not be very ready money unless initially undersold, at this time, because there are so many auctions as the Duke of Norfolk and others, of ye best collection ....<sup>22</sup>

Hatton's letter suggests that even "the best collections" were realizing prices well below those paid for near contemporaries in which the latter were undoubtedly depreciated by lesser works and by the large number of copies and fakes after original paintings by Van Dyck or Lely which appeared in auction sales during the flagging art market in 1691. This situation undoubtedly challenged the market for contemporary painting. Consider for instance the prices which Pepys was prepared to pay £20. for a flower piece by Verelst.<sup>23</sup> The fact that the latter did not accept Pepy's offer indicates that the artist was certainly not desperate for money and had probably built up a clientele of wealthy merchants and financiers who had greater disposable income to pay at least £50. to £70. which Verelst charged for his work. However the success of the contemporary artist depended on skill and versatility in order to reach a wider market and the number of copies and fakes suggests that there was an attempt to mass produce paintings and market them at lower unit prices per item than a single original. This was a period of experimentation and artists still had a great deal to learn about the art market during this transitionary period.

There is one important issue to be considered which is fundamental to an understanding of the marketing and pricing of contemporary paintings which was first discussed by Baumol and Bowen (1966) concerns the fact that the general level of costs of a single painting is set by the general economy. However, since the general economy is based on (in modern terms) industrial technology enabling the cost per man hour to increase steadily, the technology of painting in this case has no equivalent capacity to increase productivity, and can only increase income therefore by raising the price of the single painting to the consumer.<sup>24</sup> According to this definition then one would expect paintings by contemporary artists to reflect prices for other goods (and the best example here would be a single hand tailored suit or dress), and the cost of production would have increased to keep up with the cost of materials and labour over time. Even artists executing a single paintings for court and aristocratic patrons notably Rubens used time saving methods by employing assistants to increase output and reduce thereby the time spent but this did not necessarily reduce the cost of each painting because lower cost per painting depended on innovative time-saving methods. In the same vein highly detailed and finely finished paintings by eminent Dutch masters Dou, Van Mieris and Vermeer commanded among the highest prices, because these latter artists charged the patron according to the time spent to perfect the work, even though the paintings were sometimes very small.<sup>25</sup>

In the seventeen-thirties there are numerous instances which indicate that contemporary artists adapted to a wider audience for portraiture by employing a wide variety of methods and earned an income through art related activities. Lippincott's case study of the artist and dealer Arthur Pond indicates that in an effort to compete

in a market where there were no eminent artists exclusively dominating the trade in portraiture, Pond was forced to employ a variety of techniques and methods to earn a moderate income. The fact that Pond adapted to the market for rapidly executed portraits in crayon (rather than oil) to satisfy a growing demand, and five years later when the novelty of pastels lost its commercial appeal Pond turned his attention to reproducing old master paintings in short supply, <sup>26</sup> suggests that he was particularly sensitive to changes in consumer demands and was willing to adapt. This latter example underlines the fact that living artists like Pond and Hogarth must have considered the economic practicality (what we today would call the 'opportunity cost' or gain) of producing a single painting for one patron compared to the mass production of works of art at lower prices encouraging diffusion to a wider audience which would have brought the artist a greater return on his initial investment in materials and labour.

## C H A P T E R   T H R E E

### CONDITIONS FAVOURING A GROWTH IN COLLECTING

#### PAINTINGS IN ENGLAND : 1689-1760.

##### 3.0.1.   Introduction

It would be impossible to cover in a chapter all the economic conditions in England and Holland which favoured a growth in the Art market during the period covered in this study. Therefore only the most pertinent economic and political factors affecting the growth and acquisition of seventeenth century Dutch painting in England are examined in this chapter.

To a certain extent the growth in the art market can be related to influences from Holland itself - notably the Dutch investment to finance the Public Debt and the Corporation of the Bank of England; and the way in which a decline in art production in Holland during the Golden Age affected the price of Dutch paintings. Another important factor to consider is the effect of wars on the importation of paintings during the period 1697 to 1760. But the most significant factor - and the one focused on mainly in this section was the economic conditions prevailing in England for the period 1689-1760. These provided the important foundation for a growth in the demand for paintings in auction sales and by living artists. The circumstances suggested that conditions were too varied and uncertain to foster a vigorous art market around 1700. However, a gradual improvement in the economic conditions particularly in agriculture,



trade, and in both domestic and international exports (which is evident from Deane and Cole's study of eighteenth century British economic growth (1962). Improved economic conditions appears to have triggered an increased propensity to acquire paintings imported from abroad. Such trade had to compete with other areas of investment such as the purchase of industrial land, new residential sites and investments in stocks and bonds. In the art market itself there appears to have been a turning towards more tangible assets, which included the acquisition of genuine old master paintings dating back to the late High Renaissance.

Using modern parallels as an example, McKendrick, Brewer and Plumb (1982) noted that the demand for paintings is not only linked to the general economic conditions of the period, but to the fact that London as the capital had a tremendous gravitational pull and became the centre for economic growth and consumption which also included the acquisition of paintings at auction sales.

### 3.1.1 Dutch Investment in England.

The economic conditions which helped to spark the development and growth of an art market in England in 1689 were primed by Dutch investment in the English public debt which was modelled on Dutch principles.<sup>1</sup> The Foundation of the Bank of England gave security to investments at higher yields which encouraged Dutch capital to flow into London and the rate of exchange moved in favour of the London money market.<sup>2</sup> The Dutch had accumulated vast amounts of capital through trade but gradually turned towards investments in annuities and became the financiers of larger countries. Dutch investment in the English funds was a boon, because it enabled capital which would have otherwise been tied up in government loans to be released encouraging growth in industry and commercial enterprise.<sup>3</sup> Another

advantage was that the yield on English securities was tax free <sup>4</sup> which was not the case in Holland or any other European countries. In fact Dickson (1967) noted that there were three phases in the Dutch contribution to English long-term securities between 1688 and 1756. Firstly, a particular increase in Dutch investment took place in the period 1713 to 1724; and secondly, particularly in the 1750s lasting until the eve of the Seven Year's War.<sup>5</sup> Although there was a greater differential gap in interest rates between England and Holland in the early period 1690-1715, there were fewer investors in the market than in the period 1720-1750 when Dutch investment in English securities showed the greatest increase, (even though the differential gap in interest was lower).<sup>6</sup> The reasons for increased Dutch investment in England during the eighteenth century were due to the fact that there had been a gradual deterioration in the Dutch economic position. The War of Spanish Succession, 1702-1713, the War of Austrian Succession in 1740-48 had taken its toll and a number of crises in the Amsterdam money market in 1763 and again in 1773 signalled the beginning of a decline in the Dutch Republic.

### 3.1.2. The Effect of Dutch Investment on the Art Market

Although there is a paucity of information concerning the effect of Dutch investment on the English art market the researcher used general economic information and the analysis of primary data to make inferences about the effect of Dutch investment on the trade in paintings.

An examination of Fritz Lugt's records showed that sales in Holland from about 1600 to 1687, (just prior to the boom period in England) were few in number and occurred fairly infrequently.<sup>7</sup> It is particularly important to note that Dutch sales seemed to have declined in number during the period 1689-1693 which co-incided with a boom in English sales. For example there were only

four Dutch sales recorded for the English boom period. When English sales began to decline after 1691 Dutch sales resumed once more, beginning with one sale in March 1692 and another in April 1693.<sup>20</sup> This activity seems to have co-incided with a period when Dutch investment was beginning to flow into England. However, English auctions appear to have remained in the doldrums for about twenty years from 1694/5 until 1714. A sudden resurgence in the Amsterdam market brought Dutch sales into the lead again until 1724 (Lugt, lot #323).<sup>21</sup> After this period the numbers of English auction sales began to rise once again as paintings were imported from abroad and there is evidence that prices for paintings purchased by dealers on the Continent were lower in price than the period after 1740. From this time competition in terms of the frequency of auction sales between the major contenders - Holland, England and France, seems to have settled down, to the extent that no one country dominated the art market.

Looking at investment from a theoretical viewpoint high liquidity in Holland would have produced lower profitability (in terms of interest earned on investments), probably meant that paintings were held in collections until it was opportune to sell at bouyant prices, but there is no evidence to prove that high liquidity produced a 'sellers market' at auction sales. However, the suggestion derived from general economic factors suggest that the Dutch were liquidating material assets (such as paintings) in order to invest in short-term annuities or in long-term English Government bonds yielding higher tax-free rates of return. As a result Dutch captial flowed into England during the last quarter of the seventeenth century but this rate increased after 1721. In fact Dickson (1967) noted that there was a growth in international speculation after 1714 which apparently involved the liquidation of vast debts incurred in the wars against

France,<sup>10</sup> but it is not known if this involved the sale of paintings by Dutch families who had migrated to England during the period under study. The Houlditch Sale Catalogues indicate that although there are a few examples of sales from the estates of Dutch families notably, William van Huls (1722) and John van Spangen (1748) most of the sellers were of English origin but also included collectors of Italian and Flemish descent which suggests that England had become an International market for investments of all kinds. Imports of paintings to England begin to increase after 1720 but more significantly after 1740, as shown in the table of imports of paintings to England, illustrated in the appendix of this chapter. Furthermore, Dickson noted that an increase in foreign investment from 1713-1724, and a "rapid acceleration of this[ investment] trend during the period of the South Seas crisis (1719-22), brought overseas holdings to a significant level for the first time".<sup>11</sup>

The advantages of Dutch investment in England have already been mentioned above, but what is significant for the art market is that Dutch capital enabled the English to invest in new commercial ventures which led to higher wages and greater disposable income for the upper echelon in which status was no longer measured by rank or profession but by wealth. Conspicuous consumption became the primary motive for purchasing particular kinds of paintings and collectors became increasingly aware of the importance of 'authorship', provenance, and the appropriate placement of particular kinds of subject matter within country houses or city mansions. There were opportunities to emulate the life-style of aristocrats and moneyed men through visits to country houses, through engravings of interiors after Daniel Marot<sup>12</sup> and theoretical examples were provided by Gerard de Lairesse.<sup>13</sup>

Generalizations can be made about the educational level and income of eighteenth century consumers of art based on modern

population studies concerning consumer 'interest in attending art exhibitions, theatre, opera, concerts '14 and similar conclusions were reached by recent studies of eighteenth century patrons of music.'15 Although one is forced to make certain inferences concerning mere 'interest in' with actual purchase, the conclusions are clear: and that is in both cases there was a high degree of correlation between education and income; undoubtedly consumers of highly regarded paintings at auction and patrons of opera fell into a small group of well educated and high level of income. An examination of the purchasers of paintings at auction sales listed in the Houlditch Catalogues shows that purchasers fell into a fairly narrow range of aristocrats and gentry, men of office, members of the professions such as artists, musicians, clock-makers, bankers and investors in government stock. Although there were a small number of foreign names most of the sellers and purchasers were English. However there is insufficient evidence to show the extent of the market reach into semi-professional groups, but auction houses were open to all who were interested in attending except the very poor, so that there were opportunities for people of varying income levels to bid for paintings at auction sales.

The accession of William and Mary brought with it a sudden boom in auction sales of paintings lasting for about two years but declining there after in 1691. During the boom period from 4th. August, 1690 (Lugt #57) to 27th. February 1691, (Lugt #89) just under half (that is, 14 sales), included 'paintings and miniatures, compared to just over half (18 sales) of just 'paintings' and 'paintings and objects d'art' for the same period.'16 This is significant because as Murrell (1981) noted:

English art form, for no other country supported a continuous flourishing school of artists working in this metier ....<sup>17</sup>

Although the example above represents a small proportion of the total sales it lends support to the hypothesis that the auction sales of paintings prior to the Act of 1694, represents paintings already existing in English collections which had been acquired for private use and enjoyment , and not newly imported from abroad for public sale. This is not to say that paintings were not imported at all prior to 1694, but the fact that paintings could only be imported or private sale made it an exclusive activity. Furthermore, restrictions placed on travel due to wars, and in the Interregnum the effect of puritan objection to religious paintings especially icons, meant that choices were restricted to secular works by seventeenth century Dutch artists. Of course auction sales were not the only means of acquiring paintings. As chapter one demonstrated, in the early periods paintings were acquired by private commission and through diplomatic contacts abroad. Later as the population broadened to include a wealthier group of professionals and merchants, paintings were collected abroad by a variety of means - by travellers in Holland, from the artists themselves or from private dealers and their agents in Holland .<sup>18</sup>

As far as the sale of paintings by private dealership is concerned, a paucity of information prevents the researcher from acquiring detailed knowledge about the business transactions made by this particular group.<sup>19</sup> But recent research indicates that contemporary artists often worked as art dealers, and as advisors for clients for the sale of old masters, as a means of boosting their income . Others set themselves up as auctioneers of paintings, which they had acquired during trips to the Continent. A manuscript sales catalogue at the Victoria and Albert Museum Library <sup>20</sup> indicates

that such dealers included the dealer-auctioneer Christopher Cock and the former artist and dealer Andrew Hay. In addition professional people notably Dr Bragge had several sales of paintings over the period from 1741 to 1759 and Mr. Blackwood, Samuel Paris, and Anthony Motteau, were involved in the buying and selling of paintings and were most active during the first quarter of the eighteenth century.

The extent of Dutch investment in paintings in England is also a shady area. In Chapter Two it was noted that Dutch painting probably made its entry into England by means of Dutch immigrants who were given special inducements to settle in this country after 1672.<sup>21</sup> In addition, the business and financial revolution in England after 1689 encouraged Dutch firms to set up branch houses in London. Whether these Dutch families also brought collections of paintings to England is difficult to determine. All that can be determined is that William III invited a small number of his favourites to reside at Hampton Court. Apart from Hans Willem Bentinck, Van Keppel and Van Nassau-Ouwerkerk, he also invited his financier Herman de Smeth, a number of artists notably Jacob Bogdany, the Huguenot decorative painter Baptist Monnoyer, and French artists Jacques Parmentier, Pierre Berchet and Louis Laguerre; the architect Jacob Roman and British natives Sir Christopher Wren and William Talman; the chief decorators were Grinlin Gibbons, and Daniel Marot; he also employed George London to design gardens and the Dutch man Willem Meester as fountain expert and engineer - an international group of specialists. <sup>22</sup>

Other Dutch residents in England were families concerned with banking and bill broking - the Van Necks, the van Nottens, the de Neufvilles, and Van Lenneps many of whom also took an active role in the Dutch church in London. Others were Dutch Jews of Portugese

descent - the merchant families da Costas, the Heycoops and the Mendez di Crasto, families,<sup>23</sup> who moved to London to set up branch houses during England's economic progress in the early eighteenth century. Another noteworthy collector mentioned in eighteenth century sale catalogues was John van Spangen whose collection of seventeenth century old master paintings was listed for sale in 1748. It was the breaking of the monopoly of the Merchant Adventures in 1689 which enabled German and Dutch merchants who had previously been its customers to supply themselves directly from English ports. This involved setting up Dutch agents in London, as attorneys to handle financial arrangements who were generally members of the same family. In this way the size of the Dutch community increased during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. As David Ormrod (1973) noted as late as 1763 "it was still the largest group of its kind, with the exception of the Italian merchants".<sup>24</sup> At the same time Holland's financial pre-eminence in Europe during the seventeenth century had encouraged a number of English and Scottish families to settle in some of the main trading centres - Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Dordrecht and Middleburg to dispose of exports (mainly woollen products) and to receive imports from Holland and the Continental hinterland. These included wealthy banking families and bill brokers the Cliffords, the Barings, the Hopes and Kirby families. Benjamin Furley, owner of a "Counting House" in Rotterdam was a friend of John Locke, and was a frequent correspondent of the 3rd Earl Anthony Ashley Cooper.<sup>25</sup> These examples indicate that opportunities were available for cross-cultural contact including the acquisition of paintings by English settlers in Holland and the possible importation of Dutch painting by both these settlers on returning to England; when the economic conditions swung in favour of England in the period after 1695 and again with recovery after the crash of 1721.



The above mentioned members of the Dutch community in England, connected as they were through marriage, trade and finance acquired considerable wealth in England<sup>26</sup> and therefore formed a small elite group of investors in paintings which they probably acquired abroad and at auction sales in their new homeland.

To make inferences about the whole of Dutch collecting in England by singling out one important collector or even a small group has many pitfalls. I have chosen instead to show what was actually collected in the sales during the period 1689 to 1760, using random sampling methods rather than rely on what the authorities of taste of the period suggested. This method gives the most representative selection of data and shows how Dutch paintings competed with other European paintings in terms of subject matter, name and price paid. In addition, the annotated Houlditch catalogues of sales for the period 1711-1759 listed a number of notable Dutch and Italian collections for sale during the period and also included the names of collectors purchasing works at auction sales, but unfortunately this list was not always complete. More important implications arise as a result of this random sampling of the prices of paintings for the period. It provides a frame of reference for judging the prices of paintings [that is, whether the price paid in the eighteenth century was below or above the average] in individual examples and in case studies of single collections.

The following analysis of the economic conditions in England demonstrates how consumption in the arts is affected by the general economic conditions of the time. A profile of the social class and income levels will identify which group had the most disposable income to afford paintings. In the next Chapter the 'price paid' for paintings will demonstrate the influence of social class and

educational background on taste in general, affecting the kinds of paintings preferred by collectors at auction sales.

### 3.1.3. Economic Conditions in England 1689-1760

The previous section addressed the issues concerning Dutch investment in England; the following extends this analysis to show how Dutch investment enhanced economic growth generally, favouring higher disposable income, which encouraged spending on luxury items including paintings.

In 1689 credit had sunk to an all time low, bank notes were at 20 per cent and tallies were discounted to between 40 and 60 per cent and the cost of borrowing was variable.<sup>27</sup> As the wars continued, so the public debt increased costing about half the circulating funds of £10 million per annum in 1689, and increasing to £7 million per annum by 1713.

In 1692 one obstacle to credit was removed by the flotation of a million pound loan, secured upon an annuity fund. Guaranteed by an act of Parliament this fund consisted of duties on beer and other liquors which were collected into a separate annuities account, thus giving security to national loans abroad. This gave English loans the kind of security which French loans lacked and "cleansed the copy book so often blotted by the Stuarts".<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, the political and financial situation in England was still too precarious for Dutch investors to lend freely, and annuities were not yet current on the Amsterdam bourse.<sup>29</sup>

After 1689 funding the public debt came mainly from current taxes particularly land taxes and duties on imports after 1695 included paintings. For example, land was taxed at a maximum of four shillings in the pound, (although there were regional differences at

lower rates)<sup>20</sup> but this tax greatly encumbered the landed gentry during this early period, until it was revised in the 1720s under Robert Walpole's administration.<sup>21</sup> As Speck (1977) noted:  
Many landowners certainly found the going tough. Few had surplus capital to invest in non-landed securities for hardly any were active on the stock market.<sup>22</sup>  
This situation must have affected the acquisition of paintings and other investments requiring high liquidity. A case in point is the estate of the Third Earl of Shaftesbury, who had to close his house at St Giles's, Dorset, to live abroad in Holland (in 1703) and finally in Naples (1711 until his untimely death in 1713). High maintenance costs were the chief reasons, but an examination of family records indicate that debts, rental arrears and poor estate management were the main causes for low income.

A letter from Shaftesbury in Rotterdam to his household in St Giles (November 6th 1703) stated:

I am sorry to hear all things are so low and servants so disheartened, the greater must be my frugality, and care to repair the great wounds I have made in my estate. I shall keep my compass (sic) of about £200 for the year that I stay here and if this does not do it shall be the less and the time longer, for I shall never return to be as I was of late richly poor that is to say to live... the part of a rich man, a family and house as much as I have and yet in debt and unable to do any charity or bestow money in any degree. If I find my house at St Giles and Rank Greater I can sustain with my estate. I'd rather give up my family and sell all...<sup>23</sup>

Shaftesbury's poor financial situation seems to have prevented the acquisition of a fine collection of old master paintings.<sup>24</sup> However, taking Shaftesbury as an example of the general state of affairs which suggests that high land taxes, poor land usage, and low rents strained the income of this class to the extent that all but the very wealthy could afford to spend savings on the acquisition of paintings. A list of pictures made by Shaftesbury's Steward Wheelock (after 1716)<sup>25</sup> included tapestries - depicting Jupiter and another of "Hero and Leander", portraits (unnamed), a portrait of the Earl's father by Sir Peter Lely, full-length portraits of Sir John Cropley and Mr

Micklethwaite, and a portrait of the 3rd Earl and his brother Maurice in their youth by the German artist Closterman. An inventory of the goods at Reigate (Summer 1711 to Lady Day 1714) - Appraisal recorded (March 1716-17) - listed 15 paintings of landscapes, portraits, two prints, and a number of tapestries which were left to his infant son. Apart from a painting of Sir John Cooper (the first Earl's father), by Cornelius Jonson. This latter painting was the only Dutch example in a room by room description of the family home of the Earls of Shaftesbury.<sup>26</sup> This is rather surprising since the Third Earl and his father had spent a number of years residing with friends in Rotterdam.

Although the Earl of Shaftesbury as a collector is a single case study, there are other examples to suggest that the collecting of paintings during the early eighteenth century was excluded to all but the very wealthy. Furthermore there were very few books in the English language on art theory and only Buckeridge's version of de Pile's 'Life of the Painters' included Flemish and Dutch painters as well as reference to resident Dutch artists under the 'English School'. In fact, what can be ascertained even though tentatively is that the general economic conditions at the end of the seventeenth and early eighteenth century were not particularly favourable for the acquisition of paintings in the population generally. The evidence for this is suggested by general economic factors, but more particularly recent research by Floud and McCloskey (1981), John Chartres (1986) and others indicated that growth in agriculture and general income depended upon an increase in the population and a healthy economy. Developments in investment opportunities and increases in export trade and domestic manufacturing brought about a redistribution of the labour force, one which was less dependent on agriculture and more on specialized industries.<sup>27</sup> Economic expansion appears to have created a broader base of merchants, and professional

people who had an interest in collecting and the discretionary income to purchase paintings or to acquire investments in stocks and bonds depending on the opportunity cost that is, "the highest price or rate of return an alternative course of action would provide".<sup>38</sup> There were certainly greater risks involved in purchasing paintings as an investment at auction sales particularly when provenance was not guaranteed, compared to investing in Government bonds where the investor was assured a safe return. However, the purchase of paintings as an investment involved a number of decisions based on discretionary spending and aesthetic considerations in addition to the investment motive. Among the wealthiest group of collectors were the land owning aristocratic elite, who earned their living from agriculture, as well as rental income (from tenant farmers and from rental property in the growing metropolitan sites in and around London). As the population in the country areas declined during periods of agricultural depression the landed elite were able to increase their holdings along with their income.<sup>39</sup> A few recent studies concluded that the English aristocracy was not an open elite which allowed upwardly mobile professionals to join its ranks, but on the contrary this class became a tightly closed and exclusive class holding sway over large landed estates.<sup>40</sup> The wealthiest interests had diversified so that their income was derived from a variety of sources - rental property, industry and commercial ventures so that although the eldest son inherited the title and land the youngest was often given the financial backing to procure a life in the professions<sup>41</sup> which probably involved the management of property in which their own family had a stake.

The relative success and failure of agricultural production and its effect on real wages, and income generally during the eighteenth century has been argued back and forth by Deane and Cole (1962) and by Floud and McCloskey (1981). Agreement was reached on the fact that a

boom in trade after the peace with France in 1714, was accompanied by high agricultural prices generally until 1717. After this period and continuing for the next twenty-five years, they noted that good harvests had the effect of lowering the price of bread (as shown in the Appendix to this chapter under Prices) which appears to have benefitted wage labourers generally (see Appendix this chapter) but at the same time appears to have produced a decline in agricultural income and a loss in real wages to the landed interest. This situation produced a depressed market for industrial goods which would have otherwise been used to increase agricultural production.<sup>42</sup> On the other hand Floud and McCloskey argued that there was no general depression in agriculture, since this sector was able to meet the challenge of falling prices by cost reducing innovations of which the most important was the rotation of fodder crops as a result the latter authors noted that:

...productivity of agriculture rose and farmers as a whole were able to maintain or increase their incomes even in the face of falling prices.<sup>43</sup>

For the most part lower unit costs for food, appears to have produced higher income for the mass of the population, ( as shown in Table 1 in the Appendix 5 ) and consequently the demand for manufactured goods rose in the first half of the eighteenth century. In support of this argument, A.H. John (1955) noted that it was precisely during this period of low prices in the period after 1717 , when wage earners had a significant margin of net income (or disposable income) to spend on things other than food, that the foundations of a mass market for manufactured goods began to be firmly laid. <sup>44</sup> However, it was only after 1760 that the greatest acceleration of growth in industry occurred. A shortage in cereals meant that Britain had to import wheat for the first time and rising prices for cereals seems to have encouraged land owners to acquire industrial goods to increase agricultural output so that the demand for industrial goods showed the

greatest increase after this period. <sup>46</sup>

These general economic conditions seem to be reflected in the trade in paintings. Imports were low during the early period of the eighteenth century, but increased after 1714 which is reflected again in the low frequencies in the auction the sales of paintings from 1695 to 1714.

In 1721 the South Seas Company crash occurred <sup>46</sup>but speculative activity was not an isolated event however, but formed part of an international movement in capital involving the liquidation of vast debts incurred in the wars since 1689. <sup>47</sup> As a result, many people were 'burnt' and henceforth placed their savings into secure but less profitable investments in land and probably into the acquisition of paintings. <sup>48</sup> In 1721 Mr. Broderick M.P. who was also an admirer of old masters proposed a change in the import duty levied on paintings to three rates according to size, which would lower the cost of importing and reduce fraudulent declaration. This had the effect of increasing importation of paintings from abroad and also encouraged paintings of higher quality to be purchased. <sup>49</sup>

However, after 1722 and more importantly after 1745, imports of paintings not only increased but so did the numbers of auction sales. This increase in imports of old master paintings from abroad seems to have coincided with a general increase in trade from abroad which occurred after the mid-century. Although the evidence suggests that there was little inflation during the early to mid eighteenth century, there were undoubtedly shortages and higher prices for imported goods during periods of war, but this was not lasting. Fluctuations in the price for imports fell back to normal levels once peace was resumed, <sup>50</sup> and domestic production increased in which the consumption of goods for the home market kept abreast of production. This included the growing provincial trade between London and towns in the counties,

and it has already noted the important growth in population and demand for goods and services in the suburbs around London in the previous chapter.<sup>51</sup> For the art market there was a notable shortage of old master paintings from Italy and France during periods of war which can be observed from my analysis of customs data for the importation of paintings into London and Outports for the period 1696-1760 (see Appendix to this chapter), but specifically the years 1702-1713, 1742-45, and from 1750-56 show the greatest decline in imports. These periods appear to parallel the general trade patterns as outlined by Floud and McCloskey, covering the years 1702-13 (War of Spanish Succession) 1739-48. (War of Austrian Succession); and 1756-1763 (the Seven years' War).<sup>52</sup> This was again confirmed by Dean and Cole who noted that during the war of the Spanish succession import prices were high, but fell for twenty years after the Treaty of Utrecht. In the mid-thirties and forties prices overall began to rise, and this combined with a fall in the prices for major exports (woollens, non-precious metals and iron) which began in the 1720's produced an adverse movement in terms of trade. Prices soared again during the War of Austrian Succession but declined again in 1748, when peace resumed, and favourable trade conditions returned to Britain once more. The same situation was repeated again, during the seven years' war and the American War of Independence when import prices rose, and declined once more when peace was declared.<sup>53</sup>

Concerning the shortages in the trade in old master paintings which occurred as a result of periods of war, it is difficult to know what effect this had on the price of imported paintings in auction sales, because although Pears(1984) noted that inflation was fairly stable throughout the period, there was small but contradictory evidence nonetheless that signs of inflation were present in the prices of Dutch and Flemish paintings held by collectors long-term periods of



up to twenty-seven years .<sup>54</sup> However, customs indicate that there were shortages in the importation of old master paintings during periods of conflict in the seventeen-forties which undoubtedly forced prices up at auction sales and at the same time gave living artists the opportunity to compete by offering the public engraved reproductions of old master paintings. A study of this nature would involve tracing the same paintings as they changed hands to show how price increased over time would be extremely difficult if not impossible and so time consuming that it would lengthen considerably the time taken to complete this thesis. Shortages in the supply of old master paintings as a result of periods of war seem to have had the effect of recirculating art which was already in English collections in the sale room.<sup>55</sup> The greatest period of inflation appears to have occurred after 1760 and increased steadily as the century progressed so that by the end of the century rising wages failed to keep abreast of the "rocketing" food costs.<sup>56</sup>

In fact rising prices appear to have characterised auction sales during the entire period, for example before 1738 there were many more small auctioneers and art dealers purchasing paintings abroad and making greater profits in London auctions than during the period after 1740. At this time prices for paintings purchased abroad rose while on the other hand, paintings in London could be purchased at reasonable prices but trends during the period were probably variable . In 1770 Walpole wrote that pictures were expensive due to 'a profusion' in the number of men of fashion buying paintings at auction sales <sup>57</sup> but by 1779 he noted that "imaginery value depends on circumstances and times. I once would have thought forty pounds a high price ... five years ago, with the opulence and rage for virtu, they [that is , his father's collection at Houghton Hall] would have produced more. At present not so much"<sup>58</sup> Looking further ahead to

the end of the century this inflationary trend was reflected in the prices paid for paintings. Auction prices in London during and after the French Revolution were known to be higher in London than in Paris, and this appears to have encouraged Paris dealers and private collectors to sell paintings at London sales.<sup>59</sup> On the other hand, high prices in English sales suggests that English collectors went to France after the Revolution to purchase paintings on the depressed Paris market.

### 3.2.0. The Art Market

It is my opinion that the effect of these financial developments on the sale of genuine (and scarce) paintings by known masters would have resulted in an increase in prices generally. The production of fakes was necessary in a market where high prices achieved at auction sales was dependent upon the name and fame of works by particular artists. Thus to satisfy the demand for genuine works, reproduction and faking would have necessarily followed, that is, the diffusion of second-level art would flow naturally to the acquisition of art objects (both first and second rate) as a hedge against inflation. This is the kind of situation which occurred before 1722, but after this date an Act of Parliament (called Broderick's Act) changed the rate of duty on imports of paintings from an ad valorem rate of 20 per cent to a value according to size which made importing cheaper generally. Before the 1720s the writer of the Desenfans catalogue suggested that there were a lack of buyers in the market during the early years of the eighteenth century.<sup>60</sup> In other words lack of competition at auction sales tended to keep prices depressed generally during the period until after 1760.

Although Pears (1984) attempted to compare the yield for paintings in two collections covering a long-term twenty-seven years. Dr. Mead's collection yielded 3 per cent compared with a yield of 3.5-4.5 per cent for government bonds, while on the other hand Mr. Harenc's collection yielded an opportunity gain of 1.5 per cent above government bonds. On the basis of two case studies Pears concluded that investments in paintings were not as profitable as government bonds. <sup>61</sup> It is clear that insufficient evidence prevents all but tentative conclusions to be made about the fact that paintings yielded lower opportunities than long-term bonds. Furthermore it is necessary to consider the difference in yield between say long-term bonds at 3-4 percent versus short-term loans yielding 5-6 percent for the period.<sup>62</sup> It is not known the extent to which paintings were traded as short-term investments since changes in taste and fashion might have produced fast trading of second-rate paintings including minor Dutch landscapes and genre pieces.

However, there were instances throughout the period where paintings more than doubled in price as a result of authentication, or because of the enthusiasm of a particular collector, such as the two Poussins bought by Peter Delme in 1741/2 for 430 guineas and resold to Lord Ashburnham in 1790 for 1,630 guineas,<sup>63</sup> but since these matters are difficult to trace the suggestion that this was a rare or exceptional event can only be accepted tentatively at this stage. On the other hand there were cases where prices dropped drastically on the discovery that the painting was not an original. As Pye (1845) noted:

The value of property of doubtful originality must always be very precarious. Innumerable instances of enormous variation in the prices at which the same work has been sold within short spaces of time might be adduced, but one will suffice: -  
'A Repose in Egypt', by Titian. This picture belonged to the far-famed Orleans Collection, and was sold out of it for 250 guineas. Mr. Camperdowne, swayed by the Orleans stamp,

thought it a bargain for 2000l.; and we hope and believe the late Mr. Wilkins (the architect) thought otherwise, as it was put up at 1600l. when his pictures were sold. A prudent public bid nothing then, and not much now; - 430 guineas rejected; it will probably, if put up again, come down still lower".<sup>64</sup>

Moreover, Pye recounted how Noel Desenfans (the founder of the Dulwich Picture Gallery purchased paintings which appeared to be old originals but he found that they had in fact been forged and baked in a 'Westminster oven' to give the varnish the kind of patina and cracking one sees in very old paintings. As a result, Desenfans noted that: " I will venture to assert that many of our superficial connoisseurs have been caught, as I have been, with this snare, and have preferred to the best modern productions those of the Westminster oven".<sup>65</sup>

The risks in acquiring an outstanding collection of paintings was certainly great but there are also examples of outstanding originals being purchased at auction sales during the eighteenth century at what appears to have been above average prices, and are still in notable private collections today. A recent article by Francis Russell (1988) noted that in 1748 the Duke of Bedford (Lord John Russell) purchased for his collection at Woburn Abbey, six pictures at Dr Bragge's sale costing a total of 165 guineas, which included Giorgione's Vision of the Cross for sixty guineas, and two Rembrandt's , a self-portrait at eighteen guineas and Joseph interpreting the Bakers Dream to Pharoah for fifty-five guineas.<sup>66</sup>

The anonymous writer of the Desenfans catalogue noted that the reason why the prices for paintings was low during the first half of the century was that there were not enough knowledgeable buyers competing in the market place at this time.<sup>67</sup> The most significant finding as a result of these studies is that one is never really quite certain what low price meant for the period, except to suggest that the writer was probably making judgements on the basis of a number of

factors. Comparing early eighteenth century prices with late eighteenth century prices at auction sales, would have indicated that inflation had occurred during the period after 1760, and other factors might have included the authentication of paintings which were previously sold for ridiculously low prices or the fact that the writer was comparing the relative cost of paintings over a longer period of time. Walpole's preface to King Charles I's collection noted that publications describing notable collections were useful aids to authenticating lost originals or copies and that there had been an increase in publications describing collections during the mid-eighteenth century. <sup>69</sup> In fact the above mentioned publication recorded the evaluation and sale prices for a number of the most meritorious Italian paintings in the King's collection which could have been used by collectors as a frame of reference for judging prices paid for authentic works in the eighteenth century salesroom. In addition to these published sources it is my opinion that individual collectors like Richard Houlditch recorded the prices of paintings at auction sales probably to trace price fluctuations and also as a means of recalling who made significant purchases during the period, including tracing the sale of paintings from one collector to another .

### 3.3.0. Customs Records

It was impossible to deal with all of the documentary evidence available for the importation of paintings for the early years of this study (1688/9-1695). The reason is that, although customs records <sup>70</sup> prior to 1696 give detailed day-to-day account of ships arriving at the Port of London, along with a brief description of the goods in bulk (for example, a case of paintings) the value and duty levied, the home of the agent or owner and so on, these records were simply daily accounts, and did not include annual summaries until the Inspector General's Office was set up in 1696. This is a clear indication in itself that the volume of trade had increased to the extent that accurate record keeping was now required. From 1697 onwards, record keeping improved markedly, and annual records, listing imports by country, exports from Britain and trade balance, became customary practice. Other researchers have likewise begun their studies of imports from 1696 or 1700 because of the paucity of surviving evidence available <sup>70</sup> and (in my opinion), because of the lack of an annual summary for the years prior to 1696 for Port Books that are still extant.

This remains an area largely untapped by research, but a rather unrewarding one since it would involve summarizing daily records. Although a perusal of these earlier customs manuscripts indicate that paintings were being imported by Dutch and English ships the only information recorded was the name of the purchaser or assignee for each consignment.

### 3.3.1. The Inspector General's Accounts

An analysis of these customs records<sup>71</sup> indicates that, the principal countries exporting paintings were Holland, Italy, France, Germany, Venice, and Spain. There were a number of minor exporters (for example, Portugal and Ireland) but these were too small and too intermittent, to be included in the period covered by this study. The principal competitors in this study were Italy, Holland and France, but the influence of the latter was shortlived, due to the interdiction of French imports during the period to 1714 and during the period of the seven years war as explained in greater detail below:

For Dutch Paintings, the periods of greatest supply occurred after 1715, - with the highest peaks in 1722, 1731 and 1749 (see Tables in Appendix B in this chapter). The latter, represented a gradual build-up during the war of Austrian Succession, reaching the highest peak for the period in 1749. This represents the greatest growth in supply of Dutch paintings, at a time when wars interrupted trade with Italy and France during the years 1746-1748, as illustrated in the Graph showing the importation of Paintings in the Appendix to this chapter. There was a marked decline in trade of paintings for all countries in fact, except Holland, from 1744 to 1750-1, when war with France and the Jacobite Rebellion interrupted overall trade. However during this period, Holland was the only country which continued to export paintings and this factor alone would have enhanced their acceptance

and diffusion. In terms of overall volume - Italian painting (without Venice) ranked highest with 33.39 per cent (of total imports), followed by Holland with 25.25 per cent, and France with 22.76 per cent of total imports of paintings to London. The other countries - Venice (6.91 per cent), Flanders (6.78 per cent), Germany (3.26 per cent), and Spain (1.62 per cent); and the latter four countries combined was 18.57 per cent of the total.

When Broderick's Act came into effect in 1721 the rate of duty changed from 20 per cent (20%) of the assessed value, to a standard rate according to three sizes large (@ £4.00 each), medium (@ £3.6.8 each); small (£1.13.4 each),<sup>72</sup> which appears to have made importation (especially of quality works) considerably cheaper. Equal weighting irrespective of value and merit encouraged the importation of paintings of all kinds, which (like other commodities) only acquired a market value through competitive bidding at auction sales. To determine the volume of trade, since value is a function of size it is not altogether fortuitous that Italian paintings accounted not only for the greatest trade volume, and value (in pounds) but Italy also supplied a marginally higher percentage of larger size paintings (that is, 22.9 per cent), than Holland (17.2 per cent) and France (16.8 per cent) of the total paintings imported, (see also Tables in Appendix E comparing large, medium and small paintings by country as a percentage of the total volume of paintings imported into London).

TABLE 1  
PAINTINGS BY SIZE (expressed as an Average of Total Imports) - (Total in Nos x size): 1721-1760

|                                     |        |        |
|-------------------------------------|--------|--------|
| LARGE (over 4' square)              | 20.82% | 3,411  |
| MEDIUM (2-4'square<br>but under 4') | 34.84  | 6,136  |
| SMALL (under 2'sq)                  | 44.34  | 7,868  |
|                                     | -----  | -----  |
|                                     | 100.00 | 17,415 |
|                                     | -----  | -----  |

A trend favouring smaller paintings

However, the trend was for smaller size paintings for all countries with Dutch painting in the lead with 52.9%, followed closely by Venetian paintings, 52.0%. German paintings at 49%; just above average, followed by French, Flemish at 41%, Italian painting 39% and Spain 30% as illustrated by Table No. 5 below.

TABLE 2  
Total Imports Paintings London and Outports 1721-1760 by Size

ITALY

| Size   | Total No. | Italy's Share, |
|--------|-----------|----------------|
| Large  | 1,331     | 22.9%          |
| Medium | 2,201     | 37.9%          |
| Small  | 2,283     | 39.2%          |
| Totals | 5,815     | 100.0%         |

HOLLAND

| Size   | Total No. | Holl. Share, |
|--------|-----------|--------------|
| Large  | 755       | 17.2%        |
| Medium | 1,316     | 29.9%        |
| Small  | 2,327     | 52.9%        |
| Totals | 4,398     | 100.0%       |

FRANCE

| Size   | Total No. | France's Share |
|--------|-----------|----------------|
| Large  | 669       | 16.8%          |
| Medium | 1,523     | 38.4%          |
| Small  | 1,773     | 44.8%          |
| Totals | 3,965     | 100.0%         |

VENICE

| Size    | Total No. | Venice's Share, |
|---------|-----------|-----------------|
| Large   | 192       | 16.0%           |
| Medium  | 386       | 32.0%           |
| Small   | 626       | 52.0%           |
| Totals: | 1,204     | 100.0%          |

....Cont/.



Table 2 Continued

FLANDERS

| Size   | Total No. | Flanders' Share, |
|--------|-----------|------------------|
| Large  | 260       | 22.0%            |
| Medium | 429       | 36.3%            |
| Small  | 492       | 41.7%            |
| Totals | 1,181     | 100.0%           |

GERMANY

| Size   | Total No. | Germany's Share, |
|--------|-----------|------------------|
| Large  | 119       | 20.9%            |
| Medium | 168       | 29.5%            |
| Small  | 282       | 49.6%            |
| Totals | 569       | 100.0%           |

This tendency towards smaller and medium size paintings overall especially in Venice, was probably due to the demands imposed by a growing group of collectors in major Northern European capitals, including London as noted in chapter one. The growth in demand, favoured smaller paintings for smaller rooms of Georgian homes in the burgeoning residential areas in the heart of the City. Seventeenth century sources suggests that contemporary Dutch artists made small scale copies of undoubted originals for use in town houses. For example, George Vertue (1732) and Horace Walpole (1760-80) <sup>79</sup> noted that Griffier made (small size) copies of Sir Robert Walpole's paintings at Houghton for display in his city house. As noted in Chapter I, Italian artists, (but more particularly Venetian artists) working for Northern patrons, painted smaller scale works - these included - portraits by Rosalba, Canaletto's Grand Canal scenes, and Guardi's classical landscapes.

The evidence suggests that an increase in disposable income created greater demand for the acquisition of paintings, and consumer goods in general. This in turn led to an increase in the supply as illustrated by the table of imports of paintings to London and by an increase in

sales after 1714 (Lugt). After 1721, Broderick's Act made the importation of paintings cheaper by levying duty according to size instead of value; paintings were then regarded as a commodity and only acquired a 'market value' through competition in the market place. Such factors as the redistribution of the labour force, and rising income levels, no doubt brought the collecting of paintings at auction sales to a greater proportion of the population. Since 17th century Dutch painting was generally lower in price than Italian and French painting it probably had greater reach in the population, appealing to a wider income group belonging to the aristocracy, gentry and the professions.

#### 3.4.0. The Composition of Paintings in Dutch Collections.

It is known that a large number of seventeenth century Dutch paintings were collected in England and the following summary in Table 3 illustrates the kind of subject matter which predominated in Dutch collections and the extent to which this influenced the kind of subject matter in English collections. Table 3 is a summary by Albert Blankert (1980) using Montias's analysis of 1,200 Delft inventories as a source and shows how the production of landscapes grew over the course of the seventeenth century compared to history painting for the period 1610 - 1679.

TABLE No. 3

History Paintings in Delft Inventories.

1610 - 1679. as a percentage of all subjects

|                            | 1610-19 | 1620-29 | 1630-39 | 1640-49 | 1650-59 | 1660-69 | 1670-79 |
|----------------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| Old Testament:             | 15.0    | 15.0    | 11.2    | 8.5     | 6.8     | 6.6     | 4.1     |
| New Testament:             | 15.9    | 16.7    | 17.0    | 13.0    | 10.2    | 11.9    | 7.6     |
| Saints, angels & religious |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |
| Allegories:                | 6.1     | 6.0     | 4.6     | 5.0     | 2.5     | 3.2     | 2.5     |
| Mythology :                | 4.2     | 3.2     | 3.9     | 2.8     | 2.0     | 2.4     | 0.9     |
| Other                      |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |
| Histories & allegories:    | 4.9     | 3.7     | 4.4     | 5.0     | 4.6     | 2.2     | 1.5     |
| Total                      | 46.1    | 44.6    | 41.1    | 34.3    | 26.1    | 26.3    | 16.6    |

Source: Albert Blankert, ed. Gods Saints and Heroes...

(Washington and Amsterdam, 1980), p.23; J.M. Montias, Artists and Artisans in Delft : A Socio-economic Study of the Seventeenth Century, (Princeton, 1982).

The table above shows that in the years 1610-1619, almost half (46.1 per cent) of all pictures collected in Holland were history paintings. After 1640 this percentage had fallen to one third of the total (34.3 per cent) and again to about a sixth (16.6 per cent) after 1670. Concerning the number of landscapes Blankert noted that in contrast the number of landscapes climbed from (about 25 per cent) in 1610-1619 to ( 37 per cent) after 1660, an increase of 12 per cent over a forty year period,<sup>74</sup> which has been summarized in Table No. 4 following.

TABLE No.4

History Painting compared with Landscape and Still-  
Life, in Delft Inventories, 1660-1669, as a percentage  
of all subjects.

|                  |       |
|------------------|-------|
| Total Histories  | 26.3  |
| Total Landscapes | 37.0  |
| Total Still-life | 15.0  |
|                  | ----- |
| Sub-Total        | 78.3  |
|                  | ----- |
| Other Subjects   | 21.7  |
|                  | ----- |
| Total            | 100.0 |
|                  | ----- |

-----  
Source: J.M. Montias (1982) and A. Blankert (1980).

Table No. 4 above indicates that although the production of painting had declined in total numbers by 1660-69 the most popular paintings were now landscapes, followed by histories and still-life, with the remaining 21.7% made up of other subjects which were not defined by Blankert in any detail.

#### 3.4.1. Similar Trends in Collecting Paintings in England

This trend favouring a growth in landscape paintings seems to parallel a similar trend in England, first noted by Henry and Margaret Ogden.<sup>75</sup> This is not surprising of course since seventeenth century Dutch painting was prominent in English collections of this period. The Ogdens for example were amazed that the popularity of landscape painting more than doubled over a period of four years (1689-1692) as illustrated in Table No. 5 following. As this table shows the increase in landscapes was not merely a function of the boom years but represents a real increase in the percentage of landscapes from 10.7% in 1689 to a high of 23.1% even in the declining years of the boom in 1692.

TABLE No.5  
Landscapes in Auction Sales Catalogues, 1689-1692

| year         | No. of Catalogues | Total No. of Pictures | No. of Landscapes | Percentage of Landsc. |
|--------------|-------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| 1689         | 16                | 2,895                 | 313               | 10.7                  |
| 1690         | 41                | 14,762                | 2,237             | 15.2                  |
| 1691         | 54                | 14,232                | 2,783             | 19.5                  |
| 1692         | 17                | 3,202                 | 740               | 23.1                  |
| Total        | 128               | 35,091                | 6,073             |                       |
| Percentage.. |                   | .. . .                | . . .             | 17.3                  |

Source: Henry V.S. Ogden and Margaret S. Ogden, English Taste in Seventeenth Century Landscape, (Ann Arbor, 1955), p.89.

Table 5 above indicates the relative growth of landscape painting compared with narrative history painting. It is clear that although histories had declined in numbers they were still being produced for a Dutch audience, but the demands of the audience had changed. Fuchs noted that the style of the narrative was clearer and more realistic. The patrons for mythological histories was restricted to the upper classes and the aristocracy.<sup>76</sup> These trends showing an increased propensity for the acquisition of landscape and at the same time a decline in religious history painting, affected what was available to the English collector. This is in fact evident by turning to the tables in chapter five below.

#### 3.4.2 Factors Affecting Demand for Paintings

The earlier discussion in chapter two concerning the growth of London as a financial and commercial centre depended on the growth of the suburban areas outside the city, encouraging domestic production and consumption and involving trade to and from provincial towns. In the suburban areas of London, a growth in building brought employment for architects, builders and craftsmen and included a demand for

interior decoration and for paintings to grace the walls of new Georgian residences. The elite generally owned two residences, one in the country and one in the city. They spent the winter months in their town residence while attending to business and then moved to their country house in the summer. As already noted in chapter two auctioneers adapted to this seasonal change by setting up auction sales in fashionable country resorts and at country fairs. Merchants and professionals (lawyers, bankers, doctors, teachers, the clergy), bought villas in and around London within easy reach of work in the City.<sup>77</sup> For the visitor, London offered everything in the way of the latest goods - domestic and foreign - the latest in fashionable clothing, as well as entertainment - music, opera, theatre. A visit to the coffee-house enabled newspapers to be read for a fee and it became a popular meeting place for the dissemination of political 'propaganda', and it attracted a wide audience for the sale of stocks, and as a venue for auctioning books, prints and paintings. In other areas, John Chartres (1986) compared the reception of luxury goods (beer and spirits; tea and coffee) in London with the rest of England, demonstrating that London's gravitational pull' was unequalled.<sup>78</sup>

In such a period, innovation and competition was required to maintain consumer interest and stimulate growth and production in the market place. Although prices were said to be fairly 'inelastic' that is, (lacking reach from lower to upper income groups) and the choices were few, this situation began to change in the 1740's and 1750's, in which higher incomes overall, encouraged the propensity to spend. This factor is in fact clarified when examining the prices paid for paintings in the eighteenth century sales during the period 1711-1759 (covered in Chapter Five). Increased demand in turn, encouraged increased production and supply of goods at lower unit prices and this demand was satisfied by prints from Holland, Italy and France, along

with the production of engravings and quickly executed portraits in crayons by living artists. McKendrick, Brewer and Plumb labelled this process 'A Veblen effect' <sup>79</sup> a diffusion which thus enabled goods to penetrate lower income levels. This propensity to consume (at all levels) brought about general improvements in living standards, in which goods previously belonging exclusively to the upper classes could now be purchased by the 'middling sort'. It can be regarded as a 'vehicle' for social equality, or what McKendrick called the democratization of consumption.<sup>80</sup> In the same vein Harold Parker saw it as 'the narrowing of social distance between social classes' which benefitted the nation as a whole.<sup>81</sup> The evidence from this study suggests that this situation did not occur in the case of auction sales of paintings where competition determined what the market would pay. One would expect that variety and quality ultimately attracted collectors of varying disposable income so that paintings designated 'undoubted original' would have naturally attracted a larger number of buyers all vying to out bid each other and this process would have tended to raise the price paid for the most popular pieces. However it appears that auction sale prices reflect the general economic conditions of the time in that they are related to disposable income and probably had greater reach (from higher to lower income) than the work of living artists which was priced according to the cost of living. Since the native artist was unable to compete with all of the variety of subject pieces offered at auctions the latter turned increasingly towards satisfying an immediate need as portrait painter to a rising moneyed class, much like the portrait photographer in today's market.

After the 1688-9 Revolution newspaper advertisements of auction sales, travelling salesmen and the like, brought greater public awareness, of the choices available, and afterwards mass production

especially in the form of quickly executed crayon drawings and prints after old masters lowered the cost per item which made works of art available to a larger number of people in the population.

This situation had already occurred in Holland a century earlier, when the demands of the so-called 'middling group' encouraged the 'mass production' of 'trade mark' paintings. In England however, such a phenomenon did not develop in quite the same way, although one can detect some patronage of Dutch artists and certain native British artists by people in the professions, such as the Restoration actor and book seller, William Cartwright, and Samuel Pepys and his friends. In England the commercialization of art by native British artists was challenged by auction sales of imported paintings, but there was no lack of art being produced by British artists. From the 1730s on Vertue noted increase in the number of works produced by native artists,<sup>82</sup> but they produced portraits, subject pictures and prints commissioned by a growing group of patrons in the professions. There was no royal patronage of talented British artists or a taste for exemplary grand history painting by a British School, and therefore the taste for painting in England was governed by what the aristocrats, professional and middling class of people wanted to purchase at the time. Although there were objections during the eighteenth century to lower classes emulating the life-style of the upper classes<sup>83</sup> this was not a lasting phenomenon. The upper classes with their superior educational opportunities, and studies of philosophy and the classics naturally favoured classical painting because they understood the narratives. Furthermore, from the time of de Piles and Lairese, the expectations were that the upper classes had the responsibility to collect histories expounding edifying principles and it was their duty to be the moral exemplars of society. But in seventeenth century Holland history painting



gradually became a minority art <sup>24</sup> and this fact will be examined in the light of an analysis of the earliest sales catalogues (1689-1694) in chapter five. These sales catalogues show higher frequencies for the kinds of realistic subjects for which seventeenth century Dutch painting became known. Auction sales were undoubtedly responsible for the diffusion of knowledge concerning the differences between history painting and the realism of Dutch painting. Fuchs (1978) definition of the latter noted that "...a seventeenth century Dutchman would look at nature in a moralistic way, within a framework of moral values:...he would look at a realistic picture in much the same way, the picture being a mirror of nature," but by the eighteenth century however, such iconographical meaning was less well known. <sup>25</sup> As early as 1711 Addison understood the latter principles and instructed his readers to consider that such genre as landscapes, seascapes, and portraiture, also required analytical thought<sup>26</sup> requiring the interpretation of meaning through symbols. However the main difference was that history painting acquired an elevated status through the fact that the viewer required a knowledge of iconography in order to understand the story whereas the latter allowed free association of ideas using symbols which could be recognised by seventeenth century contemporaries. Flower and still-life for example were not merely decorative but contained symbolic reference to the seasons, and the five senses, and landscapes captured for posterity a view of a particular place, giving consideration to the passing of time and the seasons. As time passed and symbolic reference was lost the latter genre could however still be appreciated for sheer artistic skill and aesthetic delight.

By the late 18th century the importance of consumption had become an accepted part of economic models of growth <sup>27</sup> - higher incomes from the 1750's on and the propensity to consume, had the

effect of increasing production in all areas of the market. It is not known how this affected the growth in production of contemporary paintings, but we do know that after 1750 there was a general increase in the supply of paintings imported from abroad, particularly from Holland and Italy. Whether this increase in supply tended to produce lower prices in general for paintings at auction sales will be examined in an analysis of the sales catalogues (see chapters five and six). In other areas however, it appears that lower prices encouraged the vertical diffusion of goods to include both rich and middling income groups. This was aided naturally by better and faster transport, and by changes in the legal system which enabled horizontal diffusion of goods to take place. There was a small but constant flow of imported paintings to London and the outports (provincial ports) for private use or sale in provincial towns as shown by the table of Imports of Paintings in Appendix B of this chapter. For art consumption this meant that there was probably a growth in audience from wider socio-economic levels, in which prices paid at auction sales no doubt reflected the general economic conditions. A growth in real wages and income during the eighteenth century meant that the buyer had greater disposable income to afford the outlay on paintings because they were available at a range of prices from less than one pound to prices above one hundred pounds. A knowledge of paintings and salesroom activity brought greater buyer awareness. That is, given a knowledge of painting and the market, a buyer could use his discretion about how much he would gain by purchasing two cheaper paintings instead of a single highly priced painting, (called today 'discretionary spending'). Earlier in this Chapter, the Earl of Shaftesbury's estate was shown as an example of the way depressed economic conditions of the early 1700's, prevented the accumulation of funds to support wide-scale collecting of paintings. By 1754

however, this situation had been rectified as an article from Country Life indicates:

St Giles house became the locus classicus for English furniture of the Director period, when the 4th Earl of Shaftesbury laid out and beautified the gardens, decorated the dining room and filled the rooms with furniture which ranks with the acknowledged master pieces of English Rococo.<sup>89</sup>

Furthermore, it is clear that his first wife Suzannah, (daughter of the 3rd Earl of Gainsborough) was interested in interior decoration, as her name appears as a subscriber to the 'Director' of 1754. She is spoken of by the Axminster carpet maker, Whitty, as 'a liberal encourager of the Arts and Manufactures'.<sup>90</sup> However, we don't know whether Ashley-Cooper purchased paintings at auction sales, as the only painting mentioned by this article was a portrait of the couple in coronation robes by the native artist Joseph Highmore.<sup>91</sup> However, since the Earls of Shaftesbury were among the largest landowners in Dorset, improvements in agriculture and rents appear to have brought greater prosperity, and greater disposable income to refurbish the family estate, and this is characteristic of the growing economic prosperity of this period. A survey of Vertue's note books - indicates that after 1740 there was an increase in the building and refurbishing of country houses produced an increased demand for the acquisition of paintings by the public .

On the 2nd June 1741, accompanied by his patron the Earl and Lady Oxford, Vertue went to see Wimbleton house, "lately built by the Duchess of Marlboro.(sic) (near London)" and then on to Sir Gregory Page's house, and he described the view from the house and the collection of paintings inside:

....from the open under a noble pediment, supported with columns - presents the finest prospect...ever seen in the distant country and pleasant rising hills - turning into the house again the first room beautifully adorned - is hung round with the excellent paintings by that famous painter lately living in Holland, P. Van der Werf. Kt. whose pictures th'o (sic) small, are of immense value. This collection being but twelve pieces cost several thousand <3 or 4> pound sterling there is also with them four pieces of flowers and fruit by another late famous painting in Holland....Van Huysum, these are most delicate rare pieces of Art 91

Vertue noted: "... only this collection, deserves the visit of the most curious", because there is no other collection to compare, for its Excellence.<sup>92</sup>

By 1742 Vertue noted that collecting amongst the Nobles included the Dukes of Devonshire, Buckingham, Earls of Pembroke and the late Earl of Oxford.<sup>93</sup> Of the latter collector he says:

...his noble generous mind and ample fortunes he freely spent to raise emulation and the encouragement of the Arts in every kind, especially those of painting and sculpture and buildings, twas this Nobleman who erected the great and noble marble monument in Westminster Abbey for the Duke of Newcastle.....<sup>94</sup>

An earlier note dated 1731 mentioned that the Duke of Pembroke (of Wilton) intended to publish a book of his own collection and others, which was to be engraved by Gamberini.<sup>95</sup> This list is included in the Appendices, No. 5.

Vertue's listing of collectors and patrons of the arts also included a number of gentlemen, and people from the professions as listed in Appendix H chapter three : such as Mr Delmée, in Grosvenor Square, who owned two fine bacchanals by Nicholas Poussin - "the two cost above 400 guineas"; landscapes by Gaspar Poussin, Claude Lorraine and Salvator Rosa; a sketch of a white horse by Van Dyck; and a sea piece by Van de Velde.<sup>96</sup> In another example Vertue noted that Mr Scarlet an optician and spectacle maker, owned a collection of paintings, including "several very bright" Poelenburgh's and a gallery of pictures including "a curious" Teniers; seascapes by Van de Velde; a Gaspar Poussin landscape after Le Sueur; and two portraits by Rembrandt - An old woman reading, and the other, An old man which he noted were "very strong and fine" and "several others very compleat and well chosen".<sup>97</sup> Other professional men of means who owned fine collections of paintings included Sir Andrew Fountaine, the noteworthy painter Sir James Thornhill, Dr Mead, the king's surgeon, Mr Richardson, Sir Paul Methuen, Sir James Cavendish, Captain Laroon, Mr

Witters of Lockin, Surrey, Mr Harris's house at Cowdrey, Sec.  
(sic.) Berchet ( probably Secretary Berchet), Sir Robert Sutton, and  
many others.<sup>90</sup>

An analysis of the sales catalogues in chapter five will illustrate how popular Dutch painting was compared to other European paintings. Preference for particular kinds of subject matter irrespective of country of origin, and the fame of the artist, appear to have been reflected by the price paid. Naturally the propensity to collect one kind of painting over another would depend on the opportunity cost compared with another kind of painting or another more profitable investment in the stock market. For example, if the cost for Dutch painting was lower in general than Italian then this might have been one reason why Dutch painting was popular, particularly amongst investors of modest means.

C H A P T E R   F O U R  
A STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF SALES CATALOGUES

SECTION I : 1689-1694

4.0.0.    Introduction

A statistical survey and analysis of sales catalogues in chapters four and five below, has been carried out to determine the frequency for collecting seventeenth century Dutch painting in England, compared with other European painting. Since the period covered by this survey was a lengthy seventy-one years, the most convenient method of handling the material was to divide the period into two chapters, using the 1695 change in the customs law which first permitted paintings to be imported for public sale' as the dividing line between the two periods. Although there was a vast difference in the time span between these two periods, equal weight was given to the analysis of the data.

The period covered in this chapter begins in 1689 with the beginning of auction sales in England, and continues until 1694. The latter year marks the end of private collecting and the beginning of the importation of paintings for public sale.

Chapter five examines the period 1695 to 1760. The main source of information was a set of annotated sales catalogues for the period 1711 to 1759 which were used to illustrate how a relaxation of the law interdicting the importation of paintings for public sale, enabled the diffusion of a wider variety of paintings from wider geographic areas than ever before. Of particular interest to art historians is the matter of taste and how this affected the choices of collectors in the sale room. More particularly, for the purpose of this thesis one would expect to find that Dutch painting competed with other European paintings in terms of low price (as noted by Buchanan

in chapter one), and will examine at the same time the effect of other variables such as the fame of the artist, and the subject matter on the price paid for paintings in auction sales during the period of this study.

#### 4.0.1. The General Trends

In the previous chapters it was demonstrated that puritan objection to religious images particularly icons, and paintings for altars in the Catholic churches, seems to have affected the acquisition of religious paintings in England generally (see the Statutes Edw. VI, ch.10 (1549-1500 and James I, Ch. 25 (1605) However, an examination of Charles I's catalogue indicates that the objection to religious subjects was not rigidly upheld, and many of the King's servants acquired large numbers of High Renaissance and Mannerist religious paintings which were subsequently sold to collectors at home and abroad. In addition, the evidence from the sales catalogues indicates that English collectors had acquired small numbers of biblical figures of saints and religious histories by foreign artists working in England and from purchases made abroad. Of course the subject matter had already been affected by the artistic movements of the Reformation (essentially Mannerist) and Counter Reformation anti-Mannerism, giving rise to the development of Baroque realism, rationalism and simplicity. However, it is necessary to point out here that the lack of religious painting was not so much a causal relationship of the effects of puritan censorship and interdictment, rather, it seems to have been a function of the lack of opportunity to acquire religious works of high quality and value and is one of the reasons why eighteenth and nineteenth century writers felt that the dispersal of the King's collection had been a real loss to the Nation. The importation of paintings from Europe for public sale in England was interdicted at ports of entry as a means of protecting domestic

production of arts and crafts, but this did not prevent paintings from being imported for private use and enjoyment. Until the Restoration of the Crown collecting appears to have been an exclusive activity limited to the King, aristocratic households and wealthy merchants and professional people.

Chapter Two examined the rise of public auction sales outside the City of London, and examined the effects of Charles II's Quo warranto seizure of the Guild Charters and its effect on trade practices within the City of London, allowing auctioneers to compete with the Outroper (the official auctioneer for the City of London) within the City walls.

There was no evidence to suggest that paintings were permitted entry into London from Holland for public sale during the Quo warranto seizure. Rather, it seems that Protestant refugees were given special inducements by the king to reside in England. These immigrants, highly skilled as they were, provided the expertise to build new industries, to boost production of finished goods for the domestic market. This domestic production filled the gap in declining and uncertain trade conditions caused by continuing Continental wars. It is a case in point illustrating what happens in circumstances when the trade supply from one source is severed, in which adjustments are made to recover this loss in trade by acquiring the skilled labour to produce the same goods in a domestic setting. These immigrants were no doubt responsible in part for stimulating a rise in artistic production which characterized the Restoration period.

However, this idyll for Dutch and Flemish artists appears to have lasted only about fifteen years, - covering the period from the peace with Holland in 1674 to the beginning of auction sales in England in 1689, (see also Table 1, Chapter One).<sup>2</sup> Political alliance and special inducements by Charles II to encourage



Protestants from The Low Countries to emigrate produced the largest number of Dutch artists in England than any other nationality during the Restoration. The years 1689 to 1692 saw an unprecedented boom in sales of paintings in London. Since England had been isolated by wars during the period prior to 1674 these sales provide an insight into English collecting covering the early seventeenth century, but more especially the years following the peace and alliance of 1674. They were mainly Dutch paintings both from abroad and by resident Dutch artists, including a number of Flemish artists and native British painters. Judging from Hogarth's well documented complaints that ship loads of fakes and copies were being purchased for public sale seems to suggest that auction sales of old master paintings were competing to the extent that they were affecting the production and sale of paintings by British natives,<sup>3</sup> working in London in the 1730s. The competition must have been tough since there were more native artist working in London as entrepreneurs at this time.<sup>4</sup> This situation was further exacerbated by a law passed in 1694<sup>5</sup> which first permitted paintings to be imported for public sale (and private use) which enabled auction sales to become the centre for the sale of paintings. At the same time the 1690's seem to coincide with the decline in the numbers of resident Dutch artists in England. In fact it appears that most of the Dutch artists who had been working in England during the Restoration had died by the turn of the century, with only a few families remaining but there were a few new migrant artists from Flanders, Italy and France who arrived in the 1720s. Waterhouse's Dictionary of Eighteenth Century Artists (1981) illustrated the works of a few Dutch artists whose descendants remained in England and carried on the tradition of portraiture, notably the van der Mijl family and the Verelsts who were masters of still-life and portraiture. <sup>6</sup> In the 1730's, a small number of

Continental artists were working in London - the Flemish artists, Tillemans and Nollekins; the French Mercier, Cheron and Watteau; German portraitists Kneller and Closterman, and Venetian masters in the grand mode, the Riccis early in the 1700's, followed by Antonio Belluci and Amigoni and later Canaletto joined the ranks of artists who were especially invited to England for short periods. This decline in foreign competition now opened the way for British artists to play an active role, in areas of the art market previously dominated by Dutch masters. In fact, according to Vertue one of the most notable features of artistic life in the early years of the eighteenth century was a rise in paintings by native artists - mainly painters of single and family portraits which is evident from the analysis of the sale catalogues.

#### 4.0.2. The Aim

The following analysis of sales catalogues for the period 1689 to 1694 will demonstrate the extent to which iconoclasm had affected the production and diffusion of religious painting in England, and how trade embargoes against the imports from Holland until 1674 and continued conflict with France for most of the century necessarily affected the type of painting which was collected in England prior to the change in the customs law in 1694. After a peaceful alliance with Holland in 1674 it appears that the propensity to collect Dutch painting was greater than at any other time in the history of collecting in England. This is demonstrated by an analysis of the paintings in sales catalogues which demonstrates the relative ratio of the frequency for collecting Dutch painting compared to other European paintings - namely Italian, Venetian, Flemish and French works. Naturally, the type of painting ultimately selected depended upon the collectors' preference which was affected by such factors

as the type of subject matter depicted, and the fame of a particular artist. Whether one can detect a pattern of preference for certain types of subject matter by particular artists will become clearer in the course of this analysis.

Related closely to this first issue, this study will show the proportion of Dutch paintings by artists living and working in England sold at auction sales, compared with paintings produced by Dutch artists abroad. The same kind of comparison will be included for all other countries and will demonstrate the relative extent to which foreign artists (including Dutch) competed with native British artists.

Furthermore, this analysis of both sales catalogues and a selected number of seventeenth-century inventories will demonstrate which kinds of subjects were more popular amongst collectors than others. This information will help art historians to appreciate the extent to which art collecting was influenced by the preferences of contemporary eighteenth century art theorists, and on the other hand, the extent to which collectors simply followed their own inclinations, governed by quite another set of values such as aesthetic appeal, merit of the artist, the quality, and the subject matter.

#### Other Variables not included in this Chapter

The fact that there appears to be no extant annotated sales catalogues during this period meant that a study of collecting preference by social class membership could not be performed. In spite of this, an examination of the names of a number of the sellers, shows that collectors fell into roughly three groups - the wealthy landed aristocrats, the gentry, and the professionals - merchants and financiers.

Original printed copies of sales catalogues in the British

Library's collection listed the name of the artist, and the title of the painting and also included the names of principal dealers and auctioneers, while the sellers names were rarely mentioned unless the sale advertised the paintings of a noteworthy collector. Once again the lack of annotated sales catalogues precluded an examination of the prices paid for paintings at auction sales during this early period, which is unfortunate since this information would have thrown more light on the preference for Dutch painting over other kinds in terms of price alone. However, an accurate analysis of price paid for the same paintings over time, would have been difficult if not impossible to achieve, since ideally it would have required a knowledge of detailed provenance of particular paintings and how they changed hands over a period of time. This of course could be done more easily for paintings acquired in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, using catalogues and information supplied by the major auction houses and National Galleries. However, for this particular study, some knowledge concerning price paid for paintings was obtained from a selection of seventeenth century evaluations in the inventories of the Cartwright Collection (dated 1687) (now at Dulwich), Adrian Beverland Gallery (undated, but probably late seventeenth century; Ham House [estimate dated c. 1679]), Earl of Melfort's Collection (1689-92); Northumberland House, (appraisal dated 1671); Petworth (appraisal dated 1671; and Syon House, dated July 1671).

#### 4.1.0. A Comparative Analysis of Subject Matter

##### Sales Catalogues 1689 - 1694

##### **Some Methodological Considerations.**

In an exemplary study of landscape painting in England for the period 1660-1700, Henry and Margaret Ogden (1955) analysed a set of nine sales catalogues covering the period 1690-1691. 'The Ogdens'

compared the frequencies of landscape painting with twenty-five other subject categories to determine whether a growth in landscape painting had taken place during this period, which has been illustrated below in Table 1. Furthermore, the latter study was used as a hypothesis test to determine whether the proportions for each of the subject categories of paintings from the sample of sales catalogues for this study were equal to proportions in the Ogdens' sample. The latter sample was selected from the same volume in the British Library containing over one hundred sales catalogues. However, the only difference is that this research study covered a longer period of time, from 1689 to 1694 but still encompassed those years covered by the Ogdens' sample from 1690 to 1691. The chance of selecting the same sales as the latter study was reduced by the wider time frame used for this research model, and by the selection of a slightly larger number of sales catalogues, which have been listed in the Appendix for reference, along with a discussion of the method for those who are interested in conducting further research in this area.

Table 1 below indicates that there was very little difference in the proportions for each of the subject categories for the Ogdens' sample of sales catalogues and my own selection of fourteen sales catalogues for this study, except that the total sample size was slightly smaller. A summary of Table 1 and 1 (a) indicates that landscape painting has the highest frequency for both samples, followed by portraiture, genre and droll-painting (or low-life), lastly, still-life, mythological and biblical histories.

**TABLE 1**  
**A Comparative Analysis of Subject Matter, 1689-1694**

| Subject                                     | Total No. Paintings<br>by Subject - 9<br>Sales Cats, 1690-91<br>(Ogden 1955) |              | Total No. Paintings<br>by Subject - 14<br>Sales Cats, 1689-94 |              |
|---|--|--------------|---|--------------|
|   | Number   | %            | Number  | %            |
| <b>Historical compositions:</b>             |  |              |   |              |
| 1 Mythological                              | 164  |              | 83  |              |
| 2 Biblical                                  | 194  |              | 114   |              |
| 3 Other                                     | 13   |              | 18  |              |
| Sub-total                                   | 371  | 10.6         | 215   | 7.4          |
| <b>Historical Figures:</b>                  |  |              |   |              |
| 4 Mythological                              | 111  |              | 53  |              |
| 5 Biblical                                  | 107  |              | 118   |              |
| 6 Ecclesiastical (Saints)                   | 58   |              | 70  |              |
| 7 Allegorical                               | 27   |              | 129   |              |
| 8 Secular                                   | 50   |              | 86  |              |
| Sub-total                                   | 353  | 9.5          | 456   | 15.6         |
| <b>Portraits:</b>                           |  |              |   |              |
| 9 Recent & contemp. persons                 | 99   |              | 212   |              |
| 10 Recent & contemp. royalty                | 236  |              | 183   |              |
| 11 "Heads", various                         | 213  |              | 208   |              |
| Sub-total                                   | 548  | 14.8         | 603   | 20.6         |
| 12 Genre figures                            | 314  |              | 183   |              |
| 13 Drolls, low life                         | 174  |              | 121   |              |
| Sub-total                                   | 488  | 13.2         | 304   | 10.4         |
| <b>Still-life:</b>                          |  |              |   |              |
| 14 Flowers                                  | 84   |              | 118   |              |
| 15 Fruit                                    | 125  |              | 92  |              |
| 16 Seafood                                  | 57   |              | 22  |              |
| 17 Vanitas                                  | 17   |              | 27  |              |
| 18 Dead game                                | 27   |              | 28  |              |
| 19 Other                                    | 118  |              | 38  |              |
| Sub-total                                   | 428  | 11.6         | 325   | 11.1         |
| 20 Architectural perspectives,<br>buildings | 35   | 0.9          | 37  | 1.3          |
| 21 Animals, no landscape                    | 144  | 3.9          | 101   | 3.6          |
| 22 Sea pieces, boats                        | 174  | 4.6          | 127   | 4.3          |
| 23 Fire, burning buildings                  | 32   | 0.8          | 13  | 0.4          |
| 24 Undesignated subjects                    | 77   | 2.0          | 29  | 1.0          |
| 25 Landscapes                               | 684  | 18.5         | 576   | 19.7         |
| 26 Semi-landscapes                          | 354  | 9.6          | 136   | 4.7          |
| <b>Grand Total</b>                          | <b>3688</b>  | <b>100.0</b> | <b>2922</b>   | <b>100.0</b> |

A summary of Table 1 is presented below. This indicates that landscape painting has the highest frequency for both samples, followed by portraits; then genre and droll (low-life) painting; followed closely by still life and mythological-biblical history paintings (including biblical and mythological figures), which shows a slightly higher frequency for mythological figures compared with the Ogdens' sample.

TABLE 1a      A Summary of Table 1

| Subject  | Total No. Paintings<br>by Subject - 9<br>Sales Cats, 1690-91<br>(Ogden 1955) |      | Total No. Paintings<br>by Subject - 14<br>Sales Cats, 1689-94 |      |
|--|--|------|---|------|
|  | Number   | %    | Number  | %    |
| 1 Landscapes   | 684  | 18.5 | 576   | 19.7 |
| Semi-landscape (incl.<br>battles, hunts, etc.        | 354  | 9.6  | 136   | 4.7  |
| Combined Total                                       | 1038   | 28.1 | 712   | 24.4 |
| 2 Portraits (incl. recent<br>persons, royalty, heads | 48   | 14.8 | 603   | 20.6 |
| 3 Genre & drolls                                     | 488  | 13.2 | 304   | 10.4 |
| 4 Still life   | 325  | 11.6 | 325   | 11.1 |
| 5 Mythological-biblical<br>histories                 | 371  | 10.6 | 215   | 7.4  |
| 6 Mythological-biblical<br>figures                   | 353  | 9.5  | 456   | 15.6 |

#### 4.1.1. An Analysis of Subject Matter by Country of Origin, 1689-1694

One of the main objectives of this analysis was to extend the study of the early collecting of landscape painting in England, first undertaken by the Ogdens' in 1955. In the previous discussion it was noted that the latter study covered an analysis of subject matter, but excluded an examination of the country of origin of paintings in English collections. The following analysis is a detailed examination of the percentage frequency of paintings to determine the ratio of paintings produced by foreign artists working in England compared with

those imported from abroad. The findings, will enable further assumptions to be made about the relative popularity of Dutch painting compared to all other countries. At the same time a two-way frequency table will illustrate at a glance the frequency of production of paintings of various subject matter by foreign artists working in England and abroad. (See Table 2)

The method which seemed most appropriate for this study was one which selected only those paintings which were identified by an artist's name from the total sample in Table 1. This allowed an analysis of paintings by the country of origin of the artist to take place.

This sample of the percentage frequencies of various subjects by country of origin was then compared to the original sample (total by subject) to determine the reliability of this sub-sample. That is, the extent to which the sub-sample, bearing artist's name only, reflects the characteristics of the original sample (of named and unnamed paintings together).



TABLE 2

A Comparison of Percentages for Paintings by Artists by Country of  
Origin with Total Paintings by Subject Matter

Sample: 14 Sales Catalogues, 1689-94, by Artist's name.

| Subject                        | Number | %                        | %                  |
|--------------------------------|--------|--------------------------|--------------------|
|                                |        | Artist, Country, Subject | Subject Matter     |
|                                |        | Subject Only             | Summary of Table I |
| Historical compositions;       |        |                          |                    |
| Mythological                   | 24     |                          |                    |
| Biblical                       | 48     |                          |                    |
| Other                          | 15     |                          |                    |
| Sub-total                      | 87     | 7.8                      | 7.4                |
| Historical figures;            |        |                          |                    |
| Mythological                   | 11     |                          |                    |
| Biblical                       | 41     |                          |                    |
| Ecclesiastical (saints)        | 36     |                          |                    |
| Allegorical                    | 52     |                          |                    |
| Secular                        | 8      |                          |                    |
| Sub-total                      | 147    | 13.2                     | 15.6               |
| Combined total                 | 234    | 21.0                     | 22.0               |
| Portraits;                     |        |                          |                    |
| Recent & Contemp. persons      | 121    |                          |                    |
| Recent & Contemp. royalty      | 52     |                          |                    |
| "Heads" - various persons      | 65     |                          |                    |
| Sub-total                      | 238    | 21.4                     | 20.6               |
| Genre figures                  | 60     |                          |                    |
| Drolls & low life              | 69     |                          |                    |
| Sub-total                      | 129    | 11.6                     | 10.4               |
| Still life;                    |        |                          |                    |
| Flowers                        | 62     |                          |                    |
| Fruit                          | 29     |                          |                    |
| Seafood                        | 7      |                          |                    |
| Vanitas                        | 11     |                          |                    |
| Dead game                      | 8      |                          |                    |
| Other                          | 7      |                          |                    |
| Sub-total                      | 114    | 10.3                     | 11.1               |
| Architectural perspectives     |        |                          |                    |
| and buildings                  | 15     | 1.4                      | 1.3                |
| Animals, no Landscapes         | 26     | 2.3                      | 3.5                |
| Sea pieces, boats              | 72     | 6.5                      | 4.3                |
| Fire pieces, burning buildings | 4      | 0.4                      | 1.0                |
| Landscapes                     | 220    | 19.8                     | 19.7               |
| Semi-landscapes                | 55     | 5.0                      | 4.7                |
| Grand Total                    | 1110   | 100.0                    | 100.0              |

A comparative analysis of Table 2 above indicates that there is very little difference between the original (total) sample (named and unnamed paintings) by subject matter, and the sub-sample (named artists) by the same subject categories. This indicates that in the sample subject matter as a variable is independent of artist's name. Table 2 shows that the sub-sample is indeed homogeneous with the total sample of named and unnamed paintings in Table 1 for all subject categories.

4.2.0.        A Comparison of Paintings of Various Subjects  
                 for Artists Working in England and Abroad

An examination of the frequency distribution in Tables 3 and 4 below (see also Appendix A, Table 1) indicates that for the period 1689-1694 the major proportion (that is, about half of the total number of paintings in the sample) were by Dutch painters. The majority of these (315 out of a total of 469 Dutch paintings) were by Dutch artists living and working in England. (See Table 3, p. 121 below).

The reasons why Dutch painting held such a prominent place in English collections has been outlined in the previous chapters, but it will be recalled that political and religious unrest during the Revolution at home and Continental wars (including war with Holland in 1672) prevented travel, and thus hindered the collecting of paintings from abroad. Charles II's special inducements to attract Protestant immigrants from Holland and France provided the skilled labour to produce paintings (and other goods) for a domestic English market, temporarily cut off from Continental imports by wars with France.

A political alliance between England and Holland in 1674, close physical proximity, and common religious sympathies fostered cooperation in all spheres, and permitted travel abroad to be resumed

once more. This naturally favoured the acquisition of Dutch paintings in Holland which could be shipped to England providing that they were for private use and not for public sale.

An examination of Tables 3 and 4 (pp. 121-123 below) illustrates the effect of Continental wars, and to a lesser extent Puritan interdiction of religious paintings (mainly devotional images) on lowering the frequencies of imports from Catholic countries - Italy, Venice, France and southern German states. Religious unrest in Charles II's reign was the main reason why Italian and French artists did not work in England in large numbers. Only a few, namely, Antonio Verrio, Louis Laguerre, and James Parmentier received special invitations to come to England, and were offered court protection. While on the other hand, the growth of entrepreneurship which attended the growth of population outside the city of London served a growing clientele in the suburbs. This group were also likely to have been the consumers of paintings at auction houses. However there were signs that growing religious toleration <sup>7</sup> coincided with a small but appreciable growth of interest in collecting religious paintings and mythological histories. These were mostly the work of Italian or Venetian artists of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The collecting of religious and mythological histories, however, was not solely restricted to Italian painting. The evidence as illustrated in Table 3 shows that Flemish masters were also the chief producers of paintings of biblical figures for patrons in England. In addition there is no doubt that English travellers to Holland also bought mythological histories which were subsequently imported into England .

An examination of the distribution frequency (in Tables 4 and 5, pp. 122-123 below), comparing the percentages of paintings of various subjects for artists working in England and abroad, indicates

that for Dutch painting there was very little difference in the percentage frequencies for paintings produced in England and abroad. The only exception, however, was the noticeably low frequency for collecting mythological histories. The results indicate that the latter subject was collected in very small frequencies (6.5 per cent) and these were mainly subjects of classical origin, notably from such sources as Tasso, Ovid or Heroditus which were produced by Dutch

Table 3

A Two-way Table of Frequencies in Numbers of Paintings of Various Subjects for Artists Working in England and Abroad (See Appendix: Ch.5., Table 1)

("Yes" = Working in England, "No" = not working in England)

| COUNTRY  | S U B J E C T |        |               |        |          |       |       |              |              |        |       |              |                        |         |        |      | Undesig-<br>-nated | TOTAL |
|--|---------------|--------|---------------|--------|----------|-------|-------|--------------|--------------|--------|-------|--------------|------------------------|---------|--------|------|--------------------|-------|
|  | L'scape       | Seasc. | Still<br>life | Animal | Portrait | Droll | Genre | Myth<br>Hist | Myth<br>Fig. | A'gory | Other | Bibl<br>Hist | Bibl<br>Fig &<br>Saint | Secular | Archit |      |                    |       |
| Holland Yes  | 108           | 25     | 44            | 9      | 51       | 38    | 22    | 1            | 3            | 8      |       |              | 2                      | 1       | 3      | 315  |                    |       |
| No   | 43            | 14     | 19            |        | 29       | 11    | 9     | 10           | 2            | 5      | 1     | 1            | 9                      |         | 1      | 154  |                    |       |
| Sub-Total  | 151           | 39     | 63            | 9      | 80       | 49    | 31    | 11           | 5            | 13     | 1     | 1            | 11                     | 1       | 4      | 469  |                    |       |
| Flanders Yes   | 7             | 10     | 6             | 3      | 52       | 1     | 3     | 2            |              | 8      | 5     | 8            | 25                     |         | 2      | 132  |                    |       |
| No   | 26            | 4      | 15            | 6      | 17       | 17    | 13    | 2            |              | 5      | 2     | 11           | 6                      | 1       | 3      | 128  |                    |       |
| Sub-total  | 33            | 14     | 21            | 9      | 69       | 18    | 16    | 4            |              | 13     | 7     | 19           | 31                     | 1       | 5      | 260  |                    |       |
| Germany Yes  |               |        |               |        | 18       |       |       |              |              |        |       |              |                        |         |        | 18   |                    |       |
| No   | 12            |        | 1             | 2      | 6        |       |       |              |              | 2      | 1     | 10           | 2                      |         | 1      | 37   |                    |       |
| Sub-total  | 12            |        | 1             | 2      | 24       |       |       |              |              | 2      | 1     | 10           | 2                      |         | 1      | 55   |                    |       |
| Italy Yes  |               | 1      | 2             |        | 8        |       | 2     | 1            | 2            | 6      | 2     | 9            | 10                     | 1       |        | 52   |                    |       |
| No   | 8             |        |               |        |          |       |       |              |              |        |       |              |                        |         |        |      |                    |       |
| Sub-total  | 8             | 1      | 2             |        | 8        |       | 2     | 1            | 2            | 6      | 2     | 9            | 10                     | 1       |        | 52   |                    |       |
| Venice Yes   |               |        |               |        |          |       |       |              |              |        |       |              |                        |         |        |      |                    |       |
| No   | 2             |        | 1             | 1      | 12       |       | 4     | 2            | 1            | 7      |       | 1            | 8                      | 3       | 1      | 43   |                    |       |
| Sub-total  | 2             |        | 1             | 1      | 12       |       | 4     | 2            | 1            | 7      |       | 1            | 8                      | 3       | 1      | 43   |                    |       |
| France Yes   |               |        |               |        |          |       |       |              |              |        |       |              |                        |         |        |      |                    |       |
| No   | 21            |        | 2             |        | 4        |       |       | 1            | 3            | 3      | 1     |              | 4                      |         |        | 39   |                    |       |
| Sub-total  | 21            |        | 2             |        | 4        |       |       | 1            | 3            | 3      | 1     |              | 4                      |         |        | 39   |                    |       |
| Britain Yes  | 1             | 4      | 2             |        | 20       |       | 2     | 1            |              | 3      |       | 3            | 1                      |         | 2      | 40   |                    |       |
| No   |               |        |               |        |          |       |       |              |              |        |       |              |                        |         |        |      |                    |       |
| Sub-total  | 1             | 4      | 2             |        | 20       |       | 2     | 1            |              | 3      |       | 3            | 1                      |         | 2      | 40   |                    |       |
| Total Useable<br>Sample  | 228           | 58     | 92            | 21     | 217      | 67    | 55    | 20           | 11           | 47     | 12    | 43           | 67                     | 6       | 13     | 958  |                    |       |
| * Non-useable Sample<br>(Unknown Country/ Un-<br>identified artists) |               |        |               |        |          |       |       |              |              |        |       |              |                        |         |        | 152  |                    |       |
| * TOTAL SAMPLE   |               |        |               |        |          |       |       |              |              |        |       |              |                        |         |        | 1110 |                    |       |

\* See Appendix Table 1.

Table 4

A Comparison of Percentages of Paintings of Various Subjects -  
For Artists Working in England and Abroad  
These are the row percentages of Table 1 (Appendix) and Table III above

("Yes" = Working in England; "No" = not working in England.)

| S U B J E C T |         |        |            |        |          |       |       |           |           |        |       |           |                  |         |        |               |         |
|---------------|---------|--------|------------|--------|----------|-------|-------|-----------|-----------|--------|-------|-----------|------------------|---------|--------|---------------|---------|
| COUNTRY       | L'scape | Seasc. | Still Life | Animal | Portrait | Droll | Genre | Myth Hist | Myth Fig. | A'gory | Other | Bibl Hist | Bibl Fig.& Saint | Secular | Archit | Undesig-nated | TOTAL % |
| Holland Yes   | 34.3    | 7.9    | 14.0       | 2.8    | 16.2     | 12.1  | 7.0   | 0.3       | 1.0       | 2.5    |       |           | 0.6              | 0.3     | 1.0    |               | 100     |
| Holland No.   | 28.0    | 9.1    | 12.3       |        | 19.0     | 7.1   | 5.8   | 6.5       | 1.3       | 3.2    | 0.6   | 0.6       | 5.9              |         | 0.6    |               | 100     |
| Total %       | 32.2    | 8.3    | 13.4       | 2.0    | 17.1     | 10.4  | 6.6   | 2.3       | 1.1       | 2.8    | 0.2   | 0.2       | 2.3              | 0.2     | 0.9    |               | 100     |
| Flanders Yes  | 5.3     | 7.6    | 4.5        | 2.3    | 39.4     | 0.8   | 2.3   | 1.5       |           | 6.0    | 3.8   | 6.0       | 19.0             |         | 1.5    |               | 100     |
| Flanders No   | 20.3    | 3.1    | 11.7       | 4.7    | 13.3     | 13.3  | 10.2  | 1.6       |           | 3.9    | 1.6   | 8.6       | 4.7              | 0.7     | 2.3    |               | 100     |
| Total %       | 12.7    | 5.4    | 8.1        | 3.5    | 26.5     | 6.9   | 6.2   | 1.5       |           | 5.0    | 2.7   | 7.3       | 11.9             | 0.4     | 1.9    |               | 100     |
| Germany Yes   |         |        |            |        | 100.0    |       |       |           |           |        |       |           |                  |         |        |               | 100     |
| Germany No    | 32.5    |        | 2.7        | 5.4    | 16.2     |       |       |           |           | 5.4    | 2.7   | 27.0      | 5.4              |         | 2.7    |               | 100     |
| Total %       | 32.5    |        | 2.7        | 5.4    | 43.6     |       |       |           |           | 5.4    | 2.7   | 27.0      | 5.4              |         | 2.7    |               | 100     |
| Italy Yes     | 15.4    | 1.9    | 3.9        |        | 15.4     |       | 3.9   | 1.9       | 3.9       | 11.5   | 3.8   | 17.3      | 19.2             | 1.9     |        |               | 100     |
| Italy No      |         |        |            |        |          |       |       |           |           |        |       |           |                  |         |        |               | 100     |
| Total %       | 15.4    | 1.9    | 3.9        |        | 15.4     |       | 3.9   | 1.9       | 3.9       | 11.5   | 3.8   | 17.3      | 19.2             | 1.9     |        |               | 100     |
| Venice Yes    |         |        |            |        |          |       |       |           |           |        |       |           |                  |         |        |               | 100     |
| Venice No     | 4.7     |        | 2.3        | 2.3    | 28.0     |       | 9.3   | 4.7       | 2.3       | 16.3   |       | 2.3       | 18.6             | 6.9     | 2.3    |               | 100     |
| Total %       | 4.7     |        | 2.3        | 2.3    | 28.0     |       | 9.3   | 4.7       | 2.3       | 16.3   |       | 2.3       | 18.6             | 6.9     | 2.3    |               | 100     |
| France Yes    | 53.9    |        | 5.1        |        | 10.2     |       |       | 2.6       | 7.7       | 7.7    | 2.6   |           | 10.2             |         |        |               | 100     |
| France No     |         |        |            |        |          |       |       |           |           |        |       |           |                  |         |        |               | 100     |
| Total %       | 53.9    |        | 5.1        |        | 10.2     |       |       | 2.6       | 7.7       | 7.7    | 2.6   |           | 10.2             |         |        |               | 100     |
| Britain Yes   | 2.5     | 10.0   | 5.0        |        | 50.0     |       | 5.0   | 2.5       |           | 7.5    |       | 7.5       | 2.5              |         | 5.0    | 2.5           | 100     |
| Britain No    |         |        |            |        |          |       |       |           |           |        |       |           |                  |         |        |               | 100     |
| Total %       | 2.5     | 10.0   | 5.0        |        | 50.0     |       | 5.0   | 2.5       |           | 7.5    |       | 7.5       | 2.5              |         | 5.0    | 2.5           | 100     |

**Table 5**  
A Comparison of Paintings of Various Subjects - as Percentages,  
for Artists Working in England and Abroad  
These are the column percentages of Table 1 and 11

|          |       | S U B J E C T |          |            |        |          |       |       |              |                |                 |              |                |         |        | Undesig-<br>nated | TOTAL<br>% |
|----------|-------|---------------|----------|------------|--------|----------|-------|-------|--------------|----------------|-----------------|--------------|----------------|---------|--------|-------------------|------------|
|          |       | L'scape       | Seascape | Still life | Animal | Portrait | Droll | Genre | Myth<br>Hist | Myth<br>Figure | A'gory<br>Other | Bibl<br>Hist | Bibl<br>Figure | Secular | Archit |                   |            |
| Holland  | Yes   | 71.5          | 64.1     | 69.8       | 100.0  | 63.7     | 77.5  | 71.0  | 9.1          | 60.0           | 61.5            |              | 18.2           | 100.0   | 75.0   |                   | 67.2       |
|          | No    | 28.5          | 35.9     | 30.2       |        | 36.3     | 22.5  | 29.0  | 90.9         | 40.0           | 38.5            | 100.0        | 81.8           |         | 25.0   |                   | 32.8       |
|          | Total | 100.0         | 100.0    | 100.0      | 100.0  | 100.0    | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0        | 100.0          | 100.0           | 100.0        | 100.0          | 100.0   | 100.0  |                   | 100.0      |
| Flanders | Yes   | 21.2          | 71.4     | 28.6       | 38.3   | 75.4     | 5.6   | 18.7  | 50.0         |                | 61.5            | 71.4         | 30.6           |         | 40.0   |                   | 50.8       |
|          | No    | 78.8          | 28.6     | 71.4       | 66.7   | 24.6     | 94.4  | 81.3  | 50.0         |                | 38.5            | 28.6         | 19.4           | 100.0   | 60.0   |                   | 49.2       |
|          | Total | 100.0         | 100.0    | 100.0      | 100.0  | 100.0    | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0        | 100.0          | 100.0           | 100.0        | 100.0          | 100.0   | 100.0  |                   | 100.0      |
| Germany  | Yes   |               |          |            |        | 75.0     |       |       |              |                |                 |              |                |         |        |                   | 32.7       |
|          | No    | 100.0         |          | 100.0      | 100.0  | 25.0     |       |       |              |                | 100.0           | 100.0        | 100.0          |         | 100.0  |                   | 67.3       |
|          | Total | 100.0         |          | 100.0      | 100.0  | 100.0    |       |       |              |                | 100.0           | 100.0        | 100.0          |         | 100.0  |                   | 100.0      |

("Yes" = Working in England; "No" = not working in England)

artists living abroad and subsequently imported into England for private collections. The same pattern of collecting appeared in the case of biblical figures, mainly the figures of saints (representing 5.9 per cent of the total of Dutch painting from Holland), compared to extremely low frequencies for the collecting of biblical figures by Dutch artists working in England (0.6 per cent of the total).

The frequency distribution for Flemish paintings shows a greater disparity in the totals for paintings by Flemish artists working in England and abroad. The sales catalogues show that English collectors acquired for the most part portraits by Flemish artists working in England, (that is 39.4 per cent), followed by biblical figures (19.0 per cent). Landscapes, on the other hand, were produced abroad, so were drolls and other low life subjects (13.3 per cent) and still life subjects (11.7 per cent).

The most interesting feature of this analysis is that it confirms the impression that seventeenth-century Dutch painters were largely producers of secular works. Landscape paintings held the lead, followed by portraits, still life, genre, mythological histories and, in smaller numbers, biblical figures of saints.

Of particular interest is the fact that the English acquisition of Dutch mythological or classical histories (6.5% of the Dutch total), although low in actual frequency count, appears to have been higher than any other country, and might have been contingent upon the observation amongst Dutch Art specialists that a change of taste had occurred favouring classical and mythological subjects. This fact is confirmed by D.P. Snoep's observation that in Holland during the late seventeenth century there had been a growth in demand by a small upper class elite for elegant works of art illustrating classical themes.\* Snoep noted that this change in taste was concurrent with reforms in the theatre in which the popular plays



(poeta vulgaris) of Jan Vos were replaced by the restrained elegance of Andries Pels. <sup>9</sup> In fact an interesting parallel occurred in England after the Restoration in which licentiousness was replaced by the refined Comedy of Manners. Paintings of classical themes by Gerard de Lairese (1640-1711) and Adriaen van der Werff (1659-1722) found an audience amongst the upper strata of the bourgeoisie, the court of Orange, and wealthy Mennonite families. <sup>10</sup> At the same time, Montias (see Chapter 3 above) <sup>11</sup> noted that this period saw the development of the fiinschilders in genre painting, which appears to have been regarded as the middle of the road genre - 'the golden mean' between grand esoteric histories and grotesque low life painting, which will be considered in reference to a discussion of the findings below.

The highest percentage frequencies in rank order for Dutch painting as a percentage of the total (for artists working in England and abroad) have been summarized in Table 6 below.

Table 6

Extract from Table IV: Holland and Flanders Compared

A comparison of percentages of paintings of various subjects for artists working in England and abroad. Row percentages of Table 1.

| <u>Dutch Paintings</u>                 |      |             | <u>Flemish Paintings</u> |       |             |
|--|------|-------------|--------------------------|-------|-------------|
|  | Rank | Total Row % |                          | Rank  | Total Row % |
| Landscape                              | 1    | 32.2        | '                        | 2     | 12.7        |
| Portrait                               | 2    | 17.1        | '                        | 1     | 26.5        |
| Still Life                             | 3    | 13.4        | '                        | 4     | 8.1         |
| Droll/low life                         | 4    | 10.4        | '                        | 6     | 6.9         |
| Seascape                               | 5    | 8.3         | '                        | 8     | 5.4         |
| Genre                                  | 6    | 6.6         | '                        | 7     | 6.2         |
| Allegory                               | 7    | 2.8         | '                        | 9     | 5.0         |
| Myth, history                          | 8    | 2.3         | '                        | 10    | 1.5         |
| Biblical figures                       | 9    | 2.3         | '                        | 3     | 11.9        |
| Myth, figure                           | 10   | 1.1         | '                        | 11    |             |
| Biblical history                       | 11   | 0.2         | '                        | 5     | 7.3         |
| Other subjects<br>(not included above) | -    | 3.3         | '                        | -     | 8.0         |
| TOTAL PERCENTAGE                       |      |             |                          |       |             |
|  |      |             |                          | 100.0 | 100.0       |

The relative difference between the frequencies in collecting Flemish and Dutch are illustrated in Table 6 above. Dutch landscape is ranked first ahead of Flemish portraiture, followed by Flemish landscape painting. The most interesting feature is that Flemish painting had higher ranking for biblical figures and biblical histories than seventeenth century Dutch painting.

The propensity to acquire landscape paintings in such high frequencies as demonstrated by the findings was not always shared by seventeenth and eighteenth century commentators. The Ogdens' noted for example that Evelyn, Marshall Smith, Buckridge, Aglionby, Graham and Morier, all tended to regard landscape as a secondary genre of minor importance, and Graham's Short Account (1706) only approved of the Italian and Italianate landscapists "conceding to Titan and to Claude Lorraine some of the veneration which the Italian critics had rendered only to history painters".<sup>12</sup>

In spite of the low position relegated to landscape painting in classical art theory, the results of this study shows that sales of landscape continued, the high frequencies of landscapes available in the market place probably aided the diffusion of this genre in the general population which must have enhanced its position in English collections. It is necessary to emphasise here that the propensity to acquire landscapes undoubtedly inspired poets and journalists like Addison to turn their attention to the advantages of naturalism in assisting creative thought. In an address to the reader Addison noted that the advantages of owning landscape painting lay in the fact that through contemplation one could escape from the city vicariously without actually having to travel to the countryside.<sup>13</sup> This kind of encomium probably acted as an advertisement for landscape and further

encouraged its diffusion amongst collectors. Addison also praised portraiture for identifying historical characters <sup>14</sup>. In the same vein Jonathon Richardson's veneration of portraiture raised it to a level equal with history painting, because this latter genre like history painting required a skill in depicting emotion and the particular characteristics and personality of the sitter. <sup>15</sup> In addition, still-life and seascapes, were also regarded as being technically 'inferior' because they were most often painted by Dutch masters trying to approximate nature, were also appreciated for their realism and fine attention to detail. <sup>16</sup>

The findings in this chapter suggest that while collectors were probably influenced by art theories the choices made by them in the market place appear to have been dictated by other motives such as the merit of the artist, the provenance of a particular work, the subject matter, and the scarcity of each work in a particular sale. In fact Table 3 confirms that Dutch landscape, portraiture, genre and still life were collected in higher frequencies than history paintings during the earliest auction sales in England. We know that Addison was appealing to the vox populi in encouraging his readers to notice that parallels can be drawn between landscape painting, which was already a favourite art form and the description of landscape in prose or poetry.

This comparative analysis above and a total examination of the information in Table 4 indicates that mythological subjects and biblical histories and figures by seventeenth century Dutch artists were collected in very low frequencies, which appears to reflect the ratio of secular to religious and mythological histories being produced in Holland as noted in chapter three. Although the frequencies were small, the majority of biblical histories collected in England were by artists from Catholic countries, notably from

Germany, followed by Italy and Flanders with a smaller proportion by native English artists. On the other hand, Italian and Venetian artists abroad and Flemish artists in England were the chief producers of paintings of biblical figures acquired by English collectors.

The acquisition of Dutch droll and low-life painting by English collectors ranked fourth in place after landscape, portraits and still life. Seventeenth century commentators such as the Huguenot journalist Pierre Motteux in the preface to a play The Loves of Mars and Venus (1697) decried the lack of edifying works by exemplary 'hands', suggested that low-life painting was fairly prominent in English collections of the period. The analysis that there was a fairly high propensity to collect low-life paintings during the Restoration period in England. At the same time the figures show very low frequencies for history paintings and supports the view expressed by Motteux that low-life paintings should be rejected in favour of history painting which was generally lacking in English collections. In fact the vilification of low-life resulted in the tendency to stereotype all Dutch painting as low-life and seems to be an admission that Dutch painting occupied a low position in classical art theory. Of course what really marked the distinction between these two types of painting is the fact that low life was generally painted by second-rate painters and in large numbers by 'trade mark' painters as a result of Holland's 'commercialization of painting', while on the other hand, history painting was usually a commissioned work which took longer to paint and was therefore more expensive and therefore highly regarded. As a result Dutch painting in general came to signify works which were 'factory produced' by large numbers of entrepreneurs who were not necessarily professional painters, or at least did not earn their living solely from painting.

An examination of the total frequencies in Table 1 indicates

that although the production of droll painting was indeed slightly higher than history painting, this represented only a marginal difference.<sup>17</sup> This tends to suggest that the authors of the period as noted above, appear to have exaggerated the role of low-life painting in collecting. The only significant difference, perhaps, is that since a large number of genre paintings in the sales catalogues were also by low-life artists, and were definitely of an informal type, but whether they actually represented low life subjects is not known. It is possible therefore that a combined total for low-life and genre (17.0 per cent) would raise the total to bring this kind of genre into third place making it equal in rank to portraiture.

Table 3 shows that droll painting in English collections of the period represented 12.1 per cent of the row total for Dutch painting. These paintings were mainly by Dutch artists working in England, notably low life drolleries by Heemskerck and Daniel Boone. On the other hand, most of the droll paintings in English collections were by Flemish artists working abroad which represented 13.3 per cent of the row total for Flemish painting. The most important feature of this research is the fact that droll paintings in English collections were exclusively Dutch and Flemish in origin. There was not a single droll painting recorded in the sales catalogues by Italian, Venetian, French or German artists. These findings are important because they lend support to the documentary evidence that droll painting played a fairly prominent role in collecting resulting in relatively high propensity to collect paintings of this nature during the Restoration period. Whether the vilification of low-life by puritan reactionaries effected a change in taste resulting in a decline in low life painting will become the subject of an examination of the sales catalogues in the eighteenth century in Chapter Five.

In summary then, although the evidence suggests that English collectors favoured the acquisition of droll painting by Dutch and Flemish artists it was by no means the predominant type of painting in any one collection. Rather, the sales catalogues and inventories of the period indicate that collections were fairly well balanced, with roughly the same proportions of landscape, portraiture, still life, low-life, genre and other subjects as described in Tables 1 and 4 above. Furthermore, the inventories indicate that in a few cases collectors had a slightly greater preference for droll painting than the norm, but this was only a matter of personal preference, and did not really affect the overall pattern of collecting. The principal debates during the period highlighted the fact that low life painting and biblical histories represented extreme polar opposites in the philosophical-ethical debate. The expectations for the contemporary artist as laid out by the late seventeenth century Dutch theorist Gerard de Lairese suggests that the ultimate aim was to paint episodes from daily life rather than copying history painting.

It has already been noted in the discussion above, that the relative absence of history painting in England was a theme which dominated much of the writing about art in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. In 1685, only four years before the boom in auction sales, William Aglionby <sup>1a</sup> and later Pierre Motteux in 1697 <sup>1a</sup> decried the lack of history painting in England. Briefly again Aglionby noted the absence of skilled history painters in England which can be attributed to insufficient support and encouragement by English patrons. He noted that patrons supported portraiture to the neglect of history painting : they were unfamiliar with work of the most famous masters ancient and modern and as a result they were in no position to be good judges or to make educated choices on the basis of style. As a result Aglionby noted that English patrons were not in

the position to be promoters of history painting which required "nice observations" to enhance painting. To rectify this situation he published a treatise based on Vasari's "Lives of the Painters", in order to introduce works of the most meritorious High Renaissance masters to the nobility and gentry.<sup>20</sup>

In the same vein, Motteux stressed the need to acquire classical histories as the most exemplary form of painting.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, in reference to the note on contemporary art above, de Lairese expressed his support of the contemporary history painter by advising that it is better to be like Mieris in the elegant modern style than a poor imitator of Raphael in the ancient manner.<sup>22</sup> All of this evidence put together suggests that from the last quarter of the seventeenth century pro-classical theorists (under the influence of the Royal Academy) voiced a concern that the subject matter depicted by contemporary artists should fall within classical theory, and at the same time they expected history painting to be new and innovative. In looking back to the Renaissance the theorists and critics recognised that advances in the state of the art depended upon the support of knowledgeable and discerning patrons who were willing to commission artists of merit.

The following detailed analysis of the composition of English collections in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, will determine whether the observations made by commentators of the period briefly outlined above, affected the choices made by sale room audiences during the last quarter of the century.

4.3.0. A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF SUBJECT MATTER IN PAINTINGS BY  
COUNTRY OF ORIGIN IN ENGLISH COLLECTIONS : 1689 - 1694

A growth in the taste for landscape painting in England was a subject of study undertaken by the Ogdens in 1955. This study importantly noted that after the Restoration there had been an increase in the numbers of foreign artists working in England, and on the basis of an analysis concluded that this increase (over the last four decades of the century) was due not only to imported works, but through the greatly increased output of paintings by Dutch artists working in England.<sup>23</sup> The Ogdens' study not only provided invaluable information about the growth of landscape painting during the period but also assisted the researcher in identifying unfamiliar names of artists. More importantly however, it provided a means of comparing my own data collected for this research with the Ogdens' sample, as a test to determine the reliability of the sample. The chief feature of the latter study is that they were able to make general assumptions about the purchase of landscapes from abroad. They concluded that the purchase of landscapes from Holland in the native Dutch tradition in the style of Wouwermans, Jan Huchtenburg (1646-1733), Pieter Meulener (1602-1654), Paul Potter (1625-1654), along with Italianat-Dutch paintings by Jan Both, Poelenburgh and Berchem indicated that collectors had no particular preference for artists of the Italianate tradition compared with naturalistic Dutch painting.<sup>24</sup>

The purpose of the following analysis is to extend the Ogdens' study by examining and analyzing the percentage frequencies of paintings by foreign artists working in England with those works imported from abroad to illustrate the kind of art which predominated in English collections during the last quarter of the seventeenth century.



#### 4.3.1 An Analysis of the Results

The most convenient method of handling the findings was to begin with a comparative analysis of the frequencies of paintings in auction sales by subject and by country or origin. The discussion will begin by placing those countries with the highest frequencies for each subject first, and moving on to the lower frequencies. According to this system, (1) Landscapes will be discussed first, followed by (2) Portraiture , (3) Genre and low-life painting , (4) biblical figures and biblical histories ; and then (5) Allegories, and (6) Mythological (or classical) histories; (7) Still life; and (8) Seascapes. A detailed analysis of each subject by country of origin followed the above order, and the most frequently mentioned paintings by artists followed a synchronic order from master to pupil, with the expectation that this latter method might help to identify whether collectors choices were motivated by knowledge of particular masters and their noteworthy pupils.

I am going to compare the break down and analysis of Tables 3, 4 and 5 with the analysis of results in Chapter Five, looking at different factors - such as subject matter in both cases and whether the artist were working in England and abroad. In Chapter Five annotated catalogues enabled a study of prices paid for paintings by subject matter and country of origin to be made. Since no annotated catalogues were available for the analysis in Chapter Four, a correlation of the price paid for various subjects comparing the findings in the last two chapters could not be carried out. In addition Chapter Four had the added disadvantage of not including the names of the sellers, nor did it include an annotated list of buyers. However, a discussion of the total frequencies for each subject matter in

Chapters Four and Five, will highlight any changes in taste which might have occurred during the period of this study, considering also such factors as the fame of the artist and the price paid which ultimately indicates consumer preference.

#### 4.3.2. Landscape Painting by Seventeenth Century Dutch Artists

##### An Overview

An overview of the analysis in tables 3-5 will be discussed in the section below first, and will then be followed by a detailed discussion of the most frequently listed landscape paintings in sales catalogues and the names of the artists for each country of origin. In the case of Dutch painting in particular, lists of paintings and in some cases valuations show the degree to which single case studies correlate with the kind of paintings found in the sales catalogues.

A comparative statistical analysis of Dutch landscape paintings in the sales catalogues for the period 1689 to 1694 indicates that the majority of landscape paintings by artists working in England were just slightly higher in frequency (34.3 per cent of the row total for Dutch painting) than the paintings produced by Dutch artists working abroad (28.0 per cent of the row total for Dutch painting). These latter paintings were probably acquired by English travellers taking a Grand Tour, or by art dealers purchasing paintings abroad for private sale in England.

#### 4.3.3 Flemish Landscape Artists

On the other hand, the majority of Flemish landscape paintings in English collections were produced by masters working abroad (20.3% of the row total, Flemish painting). These paintings were mainly the work of Jan Breugel (1568-1625), Joos de Momper (1564-1634/5), Pieter

de Neefs II (1601 - after 1675) and a number of minor artists. Small frequencies of paintings by Flemish landscapists working in England (5.2% of the Flemish row total) had been acquired by English collectors. These included Edward du Bois (1622 - died London 1699), Cornelis Huysmans (1656-2696), Balthazar Lemens, called "Lemence" (1637-1704).

#### 4.3.4 Paintings from Other Countries

Table 3 indicates that very low frequencies characterised the collecting of landscape paintings by Italian, Venetian, French, German and British artists. This is not surprising since historically the development of landscape painting was in fact a Northern tradition, but in the case of British artists the low frequencies were probably due to the fact that they were unable to compete with the variety and skill of Flemish and Dutch artists working for patrons in England. It has already been noted that Continental wars throughout most of the seventeenth century prevented travel abroad and the findings of the analysis confirm that these circumstances prevented collectors from acquiring large numbers of paintings from Italy and France. A few Italian artists were specially invited by Charles II to work in England but their activity was confined to the court.<sup>25</sup>

#### 4.3.5. French Landscape Paintings

French paintings were represented by only a few of the most noteworthy artists, probably purchased by English collectors abroad, or imported by booksellers and dealers into England. The highest frequencies were for classical landscapes by Gaspar Dughet, called Poussin (1613-1695), and Nicholas Poussin (1594-1665); and included a minor artist called "Brevil", probably Toussaint Debreuil (1561-1602), a sixteenth-century landscape painter.

#### 4.3.6 German Landscape Paintings

The principal German painters of landscape in the sample were Adam Elsheimer (1578-1610), "the only German painter of the seventeenth century to achieve a European reputation"<sup>26</sup> and paintings by Johann van Bockhorst (called 'Langen Jan' or 'Long John'), a native of Munster. Unlike Elsheimer, Bockhorst does not appear to have visited Italy to extend his art education, instead he spent most of his life in Antwerp, studying under Jordaens and was undoubtedly inspired by the work of Van Dyck and Rubens, which seems to have made him a noteworthy figure amongst potential purchasers at auction sales.

#### 4.3.7 Italian Landscape Paintings

The most frequently represented Italian landscape paintings in the auction sales were represented by the works of Agostino Carracci (1557-1602) (in sale #64, Sept., 1690) and Valerio Castillo/Castelli (1624-1659) (in sale #39, 3 April 1690). History painting and historical scenes in landscape appear to have been the chef d'oeuvres of the noteworthy Francesco Mola (1612-1668) (sale #141, 22-23 Jan., 1692)). In addition, landscape paintings by an unidentified artist called Philip de Neapolitano were listed for sale on 23 November 1691. The highest frequencies in the sales were for works by the popular Salvator Rosa (1615-1673). Four landscapes by a disciple of Rosa were sold in Jan 1692, another painting entitled A Hermit was probably a religious figure in a landscape and another entitled Ulysses was undoubtedly a classical history piece which also depicted figures in a landscape or seascape setting. High frequencies for Rosa's work helps to explain why paintings by this artist were so well known fifty years later.

#### 4.3.8 Venetian Landscape Paintings

The sales demonstrated that the principal Venetian landscape masters were the Bassano brothers. Unfortunately since the first name or initial was not included one could only make tentative assumptions about the authorship of the piece; and both Jacopo (1510-1592) and Leandro (1557-1622) were specialists in landscape and genre paintings.<sup>27</sup>

#### 4.3.9 British Landscape Paintings

The sales catalogues naturally revealed a small number of landscapes by British natives collected by their contemporaries. These included masters painting in the Italianate mode such as Robert Aggas (1619 - c. 1682) and Robert Streater (1624-1679) who won considerable reputation during the Interregnum under Cromwell- a period favouring the patronage of native artists. This list was extended by researchers to include the artist Henry Anderson (1630 - c. 1665).<sup>28</sup> The sales also listed paintings by Francis Place (1647-1728) and Thomas Manby (d. 1695). There was also a landscape entitled A Fox Hunt by the well-known bird and animal painter Francis Barlow (1626-1702). A list of native artists from the sale catalogues also included landscapes by John Collins (d. 1732) and a landscape with figures was noted to have been painted by an anonymous artist after the exemplary work of Henry Cook (1642-1700) indicating that once an artist had achieved a certain reputation, other artists copied these works which probably won a following because they commanded lower market prices.<sup>29</sup>

#### 4.3.10 Landscape Paintings by Anonymous Artists

There were numerous anonymous paintings by native British artists which could not be identified. Concerning the large number

of anonymous artists, the Ogdens made assumptions that firstly, a considerable proportion of the great mass of anonymous landscapes listed in the auction catalogues were paintings by minor Dutch masters in the native Dutch tradition; and secondly, that paintings by many landscapists who worked in England, of whose manner nothing is known, also belonged to the native Dutch tradition. They felt that this could be assumed, from the large numbers of extant works by both Dutch artists working in England and from native English artists painting landscapes and landscapes with animals in the Dutch style.<sup>30</sup> An examination of the subject matter by title alone lends support to this assumption. Paintings described by title only as A frostpiece; A seascape, A bear-baiting and so on suggest that a large number of these paintings were by Dutch artists working in the native Dutch tradition. My own list of unidentified artists from the sales catalogues agrees with the Ogdens' list of ten of the most frequently mentioned of this unidentified group.<sup>31</sup> These included Bogard or Bogaert, Castile or Casteels, Ibright, Mr. Flyer, Ottovelt,[sic.] Mr. Ross, Soyng, and Wouters, probably Wouter Knyff, since Leonards's father was called Wouter Knyff, and Leonard also used his own name singularly as a pseudonym.<sup>32</sup>

#### 4.4.0 Seventeenth Century Dutch Landscape Painting in Sales

##### Catalogues 1689-1694

This next section is a detailed discussion of the types of landscape painting sold in auction sales. These have been divided into two principal groups - the Italianate - Dutch type produced by such masters as Berchem, Both and Poelenburgh, and a naturalistic 'Northern' Dutch mode - the work of Ruysdael, and masters working after Ruysdael, Edema and Loten. This analysis will follow a

synchronic order with the oldest masters first, and scaling down in time, to the next generation and so on.

Within the two broad categories above, the following sub-groups were used. These were painters of cattle, landscapes with ruins, hunting scenes, buildings on fire and ships on fire, landscapes with battles and hunting parties.

#### 4.4.1 Italianate Dutch landscapes

The sales catalogues indicated that Italianate landscapes were not only the chief oeuvre of Nicholaes Berchem (1620-1683) but also the noteworthy artist Cornelis Poelenburgh (1586-1667).

Poelenburgh resided in England for several years, first under the patronage of Charles I, later extended to a wider aristocratic circle. While working in England he collaborated with such noteworthy artists as Hendrick van Steenwyck II and Keirlncks, and it is through these associations and his court connections that knowledge of his work became widely diffused.<sup>33</sup> Although paintings by Poelenburgh in the sales catalogues show no evidence of collaboration with other artists, an inventory at Petworth House dated 1671 noted "A rare perspective done by Stenwick [sic] the figures by Pullenburke [sic]".<sup>34</sup> The latter painting was valued in 1671, by Simon Steve for £100.0.0 - which seems to be a considerable figure when one considers that paintings by Poelenburgh and Steenwyck barely reached £30.00 on the average in sales during the 1720's. It is difficult indeed to compare this latter price with those achieved for Steenwyck's work in the sales room since there is no record of the prices paid in sales for the period 1689-1694. There were no Steenwycks in the early sample, and only one in the eighteenth-century sample. Frank Simpson's study of Dutch painting before 1760 failed to mention a single Steenwyck in his list of Dutch painters. However, the sale of

paintings at the Duke of Portland's sale on 24 February 1722 showed that a painting entitled "A Church of Antwerp" was bought by Lord Bridgewater for £33.12.0. Simpson's study indicates that this price was fairly comparable with paintings by Poelenburgh sold on the same day.<sup>35</sup> Generally speaking though, Poelenburgh's works were well represented in both the late seventeenth century and mid-eighteenth century, while Steenwyck's works appeared less frequently. We know from such writers as Buckeridge (1706), Vertue's Notebooks (1713-1757), Thomas Martyn (1766) and Walpole (1761-1771) that works by both artists appear in noteworthy private collections of the period.<sup>36</sup> Only one contemporary eighteenth-century writer, Frederick Harms (1742), omitted Steenwyck's name from his long biographical listing of the most mentioned artists. This was probably due to the fact that Harms tended to rely too heavily on such sources as Houbraken and Weyermann.<sup>37</sup>

Classical landscapes in the style of Claude Lorrain were painted by Herman Swanevelt (1600-1655). The findings from the random sample of the sales catalogues indicated that paintings by this latter artist were rare until the early eighteenth century.

#### Landscapes with Cattle

Paintings of classical ruins and travellers in landscape settings, shepherds attending flocks and landscapes with cattle were common subjects amongst Italianate-Dutch masters.

As many as eleven landscape paintings by Nicholaes Berchem were listed in the sample - all described as landscapes with cattle and figures - Arcadian settings, inspired by Claude.<sup>38</sup> On the other hand, Italianate scenes by Jan Baptist Weenix in much the same mode, rarely appeared in either the sales catalogues or in inventories of the late 1600's.<sup>39</sup> which might have had something to do with the fact that paintings by Weenix were highly prized by collectors. This



situation was temporary however, as works by Weenix gradually began to appear more frequently in sales after 1694, but not in high frequencies.<sup>40</sup>

Paintings of cattle and figures 'encircled with ruins' in the manner of the Italianate Pynacker, characterised the oeuvre of Dirk, van Dalens. Although a single painting appeared in a sale on 15th June 1691, the title alone "A landscape with cattle" suggests that the painting was by van Dalens (junior) rather than the elder, since cabinet pieces by the latter were quite rare and highly prized by collectors.<sup>41</sup>

A single painting of a landscape with cattle by an unidentified artist called 'Bruijninx'<sup>42</sup> was listed in the sales catalogues, but since no biographical information was available it was difficult to know whether Bruijninx painted scenes after the Italianate or Naturalistic Dutch mode.

(ii) Landscapes with ruins

Jan Griffier (b. Amsterdam 1645- d. London c. 1718) was another contemporary Dutch artist painting in the Italiante-Dutch tradition but he showed great versatility in his ability to make copies of old master paintings for patrons. Paintings by this artist were particularly well represented in sales catalogues for the period 1689 to 1694 which were examined as part of this study. The titles of Griffier's paintings included landscapes with animals and birds, landscapes with ruins, topographical views of country seats, and seascapes.<sup>43</sup> Sir Richard Temple's inventory dated 8 August 1685 listed a painting entitled A large landscape of House and Garden by Jan Griffier.<sup>44</sup>

Landscapes, views and picturesque ruins formed the subjects of Adriaen van Diest's paintings. Born in The Hague in 1655, Van Diest (1655-1704) came to England at the beginning of the Restoration (in 1662) and was employed henceforth by Granville, Earl

of Bath. The sales catalogues indicate that his subjects not only included views, but seascapes and burning buildings.<sup>45</sup>

Landscapes with battles and hunting parties

The findings show higher frequencies for Baroque style paintings of stag hunts which formed the chief oeuvre of Abraham Hondius.<sup>46</sup> A trip to Italy in the 1660's just before settling in England, in 1666, is the reason for placing this artist among the Italianates.

Paintings of hunting scenes by Hondius were among the paintings included in the auction sales from 1689 to 1694. A boar hunt appeared in a sale on 28 November 1689; and a bear-baiting (sale # 64, 24 Sept. 1690, and again 13-16 Oct. 1691). Hondius and his contemporary Adriaen Heny, or Hennin (d. London 1710), were also known for their paintings of mythological figures in landscapes which will be discussed in a later section below.<sup>47</sup>

Landscapes with battles and hunting parties were popular themes, painted by Jan Wijck (1640 - d. Mortlake 1702) in collaboration with figure painters Leonard Knyff and Marcellus Laroon.<sup>48</sup> Wijck's open-air scenes were usually modelled after the Italianate-Dutch artists. High frequencies for paintings by Wijck in the sale catalogues indicate that his works must have been popular during the period. In only four sales covering the period 1690-1693 ten paintings came under the hammer.<sup>49</sup> These included landscapes with figures by Knyff (sale # 64, 24 Sept. 1690); A landscape by Wijck with figures by Laroon; A battle; A hunt, and a stag hunt. In a sale dated 23 March 1693, a painting described as A hunting-scene after Wijck indicates that there were already native artists or minor Dutch followers copying the works of meritorious contemporaries. Wijck also collaborated with Johannes Vorsterman (1643-1699) (not to be confused however with Lucas Vorsterman the famous engraver).

Vorsterman worked in England for some time in the employment of Charles II to paint topographical views of Windsor.<sup>50</sup>

The merit awarded to Wijck by his contemporaries can be judged by the fact that in a sale on 15 June 1691, a note attached to an untitled painting probably a landscape with a battle or hunt which noted that bidding was to begin at £5.0.0.<sup>51</sup> Notes of this kind appeared from time to time in sales catalogues but tended to be rare. However, it must have been included as a means of attracting the buyer's attention to paintings considered to be better than average.

One of Wijck's pupils, Jan van der Vaart (b. Haarlem 1647 - d. London 1721) was a landscape artist of some distinction, but he also painted still life, and portraits. However, since the vogue for portrait painting prevented him from selling his paintings, he is known to have taken up employment under the court painter William Wissing to paint the draperies for the latter's portraits. After 1713 he is said to have abandoned painting to become a restorer and repairer of pictures, and also turned to engraving.<sup>52</sup> The sale catalogues indicate that works by this artist were quite rare until the eighteenth century. However, the catalogues indicate that landscape paintings by Van der Vaart were already being copied by followers of his work.<sup>53</sup>

The sales catalogues also revealed a number of minor Dutch artists working in England whose paintings were collected by their contemporaries. A landscape painting by an artist called "van der Straten" was listed in a sale in the 1690's. This artist can be identified as Hendrick van der Straeten (b. Haarlem 1665 - d. 1722). Van der Straeten painted wooden landscapes in the style of Ruisdael and Hobbema, which were popular amongst contemporary collectors. However, paintings by this artist seem to have become rare by the eighteenth century. The sales listed paintings by "Verdoes",

probably Daniel Verdoyes (d. 1624) who was principally a painter of battles, along with Lieve Verschuier (Verschuur, 1630-1686) also a painter of battles, and other subjects including seascapes and moonlight landscapes. Bidding was to begin at £6.0.0 for a "moon piece" by Verschuier, listed for sale on 15 June 1691 at the Auction House for paintings (called "The Wills Coffee House") adjoining the Court of Requests near Westminster Hall.<sup>54</sup>

#### 4.4.2 Naturalistic Dutch Paintings

##### Landscape with Cattle

Topographical views of the English countryside and country houses was the chief specialization of the Dutch artist Leonard Knyff, however, the findings also indicate that he also painted large number of Landscapes with Cattle<sup>55</sup> probably topographical scenes typical of Knyff's oeuvre. The painting of 'Arthur, Third Viscount Irwin' (Temple Newsam House, Leeds) by Knyff, appears to combine a fairly naturalistic landscape with still life in the foreground in the mode of Weenix, with the figure of the Third Viscount in the foreground plane.<sup>56</sup> A combination of techniques shows that Knyff had incorporated elements derived from naturalism and the Italianate-Dutch mode. He also painted scenes with buildings of classical origin such as a Temple of Diana (sold on 3rd April 1690)<sup>57</sup> which suggests the kind of landscape which might have inspired the installation of classical follies into landscape gardens of the eighteenth century. Landscapes with cattle, moonlight scenes and seascapes appear to have been the chef d'oeuvre of Cornelis Pietersz. de Mooy an artist who was born in Rotterdam in 1656 but died in Antwerp at the turn of the eighteenth century.<sup>58</sup>

### Northern Landscapes

Appearing quite frequently in the sales, were the works of Jan Loten, a Dutch artist who is reputed to have come to England during the Restoration and died in London in 1681.<sup>59</sup> Most of his work represents thickly wooded glades with waterfalls and sometimes alpine scenes which were naturalistic but tended to be dark in colouring. A list of paintings sold during the period indicate that patrons commissioned both large and small scale landscapes. One example in the sales measured 4feet.by 3feet. by 6 feet.<sup>60</sup> Wild mountainous landscapes with waterfalls, painted by Gerard Edema (1652 - d. Richmond 1700), were examples of realistic renderings of scenery in Norway and Newfoundland which he had recorded while travelling abroad.<sup>61</sup> The sales catalogues mention landscape paintings by "Coloni" which could be Adam Coloni (1634-1685) or his son, Hendrick Adriaen Coloni (1668 - d. London 1701). The latter was the son-in-law and pupil of Adriaen van Diest (see above)<sup>62</sup>

### Landscapes by Dutch masters in Holland

Paintings by Dutch masters working primarily in Holland were also acquired by English collectors during the last quarter of the seventeenth century, but the works of highly acclaimed artists rarely appeared in the market during this early period.

There were, however, a few exceptions. The works of the highly esteemed landscapist Philip Wouermans (1614/19-1668) appeared in sale catalogues as early as the 1690's, but they appeared to be rare all the same. Paintings by Jan Wijnants (1620/1684), a contemporary of Wouermans, also appeared in the sales catalogues but these also tended to be rare during this early period and this scarcity extended even into the eighteenth century, despite this artist's legendary prolific output.<sup>63</sup> Misattribution was common, and

inventories indicate that works by Wijnants were sometimes attributed to Wouwermans and vice versa, since subject matter and method of treatment was similar enough to have caused collectors some confusion.

#### SUMMARY

The findings indicate that the acquisition of paintings in the Naturalistic Dutch and Italianate-Dutch mode occurred at the same time. There is evidence to suggest that some of these artists were not confined to one specialization but appear instead to have had the ability to paint both naturalistic scenes and Italian inspired classical landscapes depending on the demands of English patrons. This is confirmed by the Ogdens' comment suggesting that seventeenth century collectors had a propensity to acquire both kinds of landscape:

...it must not be supposed that the vogue of Northern landscape was supplanted in the seventeenth century by the liking for Italian landscape. The great masters of the Roman school were regarded as superior to any Northern landscapists but Flemish landscape maintained its popularity throughout the century, and there was during the last four decades, a considerable vogue for landscape of the native Dutch tradition. The exclusiveness of the mid-eighteenth-century admiration for Italian landscape was nascent but not prevalent at the end of the seventeenth century.<sup>64</sup>

This analysis indicates that some artists had the ability to work in both styles, and that sometimes Italianate classicism appears to have lent naturalism a poetic lyricism, such as one would find in the work of Wouwermans, Wijnants and Cuyp, and this made strict classification in terms of style for this study quite difficult. However, the most interesting feature of these findings is that a slightly greater proportion of Dutch landscapists working in England, (notably the work of Hondius, Wijck and Knyff) appear to fall into the category of Italianate-Dutch style with less weighting on the side of naturalism.

#### 4.5.0 Portrait Painting

##### An Overview

The findings in Tables 3 and 4 above, ( and Table 1 in the Appendix) shows that English collectors acquired portraits by Dutch and Flemish artists working in England, and the latter included a small number of paintings by sixteenth century artists, the precursors of seventeenth century painting . The frequency distribution in numbers in Table 3 and Appendix Table 1 indicates that the portraits by Dutch and Flemish artists working in England were collected in approximately equal numbers. Firstly, both nationalities painted portraits of aristocratic households and prominent figures of the period; secondly, portraits of royalty, and lastly, "heads" of various people, formed the third category. In the latter category, however, higher frequencies for collecting "heads" by Flemish artists characterised the sales of the period. These were largely the work of one or two painters of merit such as Sir Anthony van Dyck (1599 - d. 1641) <sup>65</sup> and Sir Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640),<sup>66</sup> and included many copies after these latter artists by minor Flemish artists and English natives. But the most interesting feature arising from this analysis is that paintings by Flemish masters appear to fall into an earlier time period, and stylistically show unmistakeable Italian Renaissance and Mannerist influence and less affected by the style of the so-called 'modern' Dutch works. Most of these latter Flemish masters had worked under court patronage for the great European households which gained them great notariety in royal circles. In fact, Table 4 above indicates that portraiture was the chief speciality for Flemish masters working in England (at 26.5% of the row total for Flemish paintings), but the actual numbers of artists were quite small. In addition to Van Dyck and Rubens the principal

artists were :David Teniers (Antwerp 1610- Brussels 1690), Franz Floris (Antwerp c. 1517-1570), Antonio Mor (working 1544-1576/77), Franz Pourbus II (Antwerp 1563-Paris 1622), Jan Breugel (1568-1625), Jacob Jordaens (1593-1678), Cornelis Schutt (Antwerp 1597-1655), "Old Remi" (probably Remi van Leemput, a native of Antwerp who came to England in the middle of the seventeenth century and had a successful career here.<sup>67</sup> William Cartwright owned a portrait of Queen Mary by "old Remi" which had been valued in an inventory of 1687 at a fair price of £10.00.0. <sup>68</sup> Furthermore the sales catalogues identified a number of less well-known artists such as Frans Wouters (1612- Antwerp 1659/60), Maerten de Vos (1531/2-1603), Gerard Seghers (Antwerp 1591-1661) a pupil of Rubens; and lastly an unidentified artist "van Aelst" or "van der Elst" working in England during Charles II's reign.<sup>69</sup>

On the other hand, although portraiture in Holland ranked in second place (as shown in Table 3) after landscapes, Dutch portrait painters were far more numerous than Flemish masters.

Following a synchronic order from the earliest artists on, the most frequently mentioned Dutch portrait painters in the sale catalogues will now be discussed.

#### 4.5.1 Dutch Portrait Painting

The popularity of Cornelis Johnson, or Johnson van Ceulen (1593-1661), can be judged by the relatively high frequency of paintings which came under the hammer in the 1690's. There was a total of thirteen portraits listed in sales catalogues for the period from 12 July 1689 to a sale on 23 March 1693. The titles of the portraits indicate that he had a wide circle of patrons. These included a portrait of Lady Herbert, a portrait of one of Lord Nottingham's family members, Lambert the painter, the Duchess of Orleans, Lord



Oxford, Mrs. Bridget Cotterell, and Lady Higham. Other portraits of less notoriety included a judge's head, a commander's head, to mention just a few.<sup>70</sup>

Among the earliest portraits in the sales catalogues were paintings by artists born in the late fifteenth-early sixteenth century. These included portraits by the late Mannerist painter Lucas van Leyden (1494-1533). A painting entitled "a portrait" was recorded in a sale on 24 August and another of "a Dutch woman" on 16-17 December 1689. There is evidence that van Leyden's work was also known to collectors through drawings and engravings. In a sale on 31 May 1689 at Tom's Coffee House in Pope's Head Alley near the Royal Exchange, two drawings of historical subjects were recorded. Known as the forefather of engraving in Holland, he is believed to have been influenced principally by Cornelis Engelbrechtsz, but was also familiar with the works of such forerunners as Quentin Massys and Mabuse. Van Leyden's friendship with Albert Durer must have also been instrumental in formulating his style.<sup>71</sup>

Paintings by Jan van Scorel (1495-1562) the father of Renaissance painting in Holland rarely appeared in these early sales catalogues. Only a single painting listed as "an old man's head" by Jan van Schorel came under the hammer on 24 September 1690.<sup>72</sup> Similarly paintings by the older more highly acclaimed works by Michael Miereveld (1567-1641) appear to be rare at this time with only one painting listed in the sample of sales.<sup>73</sup>

Three interesting portrait paintings by Paul van Somer (1576 - d. London 1621) were listed in sale catalogues in the 1690's. A sale of "the most famous Ancient and Modern masters in Europe at Mr. Smith's, a gentleman of Covent Garden" (24 September 1690), a portrait of the Countess of Devonshire, and another of King James I and his family were listed for sale. In a sale at the Outroper's Office on

23 March 1693, a portrait of King William II or Orange and Queen Mary (daughter of Charles I) was recorded.<sup>74</sup>

Prints and drawings by the Mannerist painter Hendrick Goltzius (1558-1617) were listed for sale on 31 May 1689 and again on 28 June in the same year, and History paintings and portraits by this latter artist appeared in sales during the boom period in the 1690's. A sale by Edward Millington at the Barbadoes Coffee Hoose, Exchange Alley against the Royal Exchange in Cornhill on 20-22 February 1690, listed a portrait of Queen Jane, mother of Edward VI. Again at a sale of rare old masters at the West End of the Exeter Exchange on 3 April 1690, A head of St. John was listed in the catalogue.<sup>75</sup>

Paintings by the Mannerist artist Cornelis van Haarlem (Cornelisz Cornelis, 1562-1638) were rare during this early sale period. Classical histories seemed to be his forte as well as portraits. Two portraits described as "weeping heads" were listed in a sale at the vendue next to Bedford Gate in Charles Street, Covent Garden on 22-23 January 1692.<sup>76</sup> These paintings were among those listed as "a collection of old master paintings belonging to Prince Ludovico and General Doushfield ... recently brought from abroad". This suggests that although the importation of paintings from abroad for public sale were prohibited there were occasions when the law was relaxed, but these sales appear to have been rare and were probably due to the fact that the collections were of extraordinary value. There were laws which permitted the personal effects of Ambassadors to enter free of duty, and this situation may have also been extended to the deceased estates of British Ambassadors residing abroad, which were subsequently imported and offered to the public for sale by the executors.<sup>77</sup> However, it is not known if the latter collections fall into either of these categories.

Four portraits by Egbert Van Heemskerck called The elder

(1610-168-) were listed in sales catalogues on 16-17 December 1689 and again on 3 April 1690.<sup>79</sup> Known as "the peasant", Egbert van Heemskerck was primarily a painter of genre and low life drolleries. Paintings by his son, Egbert van Heemskerck who came to London during the Restoration and died in 1704 appeared in the sales in larger frequencies than any other droll painters of the period which suggests that his work was commissioned by English patrons notably the Earl of Rochester.

In an auction advertising the sale of 'several rare old masters' on 3 April 1690, four portraits by the Haarlem painter Frans Hals (1581-1666), were listed. One can tell from the descriptions that at least one of these paintings A Boy laughing has broken away from formal portraiture and is probably a realistic and spontaneous depiction of a child characteristic of his mature style. The paintings were described variously as A head, A fortune (probably a fortune-teller), A boy laughing and A man's head are typical Hals subjects, and the relatively high frequencies undoubtedly brought his work to the attention of potential buyers in the sale room.<sup>80</sup> Furthermore, the work of exemplary masters was also present - a single painting described simply as A portrait by Ferdinand Bol (1611-1681) appeared in a sale of Mr. Smith's goods at Covent Garden on 24 September 1690;<sup>80</sup> and in addition, a portrait entitled, An old man reading a letter by Du Koning (probably Philips de Koninck, 1619-1688) appeared in a sale on 22-23 January 1692.<sup>81</sup>

Prolific production characterised the work of Sir Peter Lely (1618-1680) who replaced Van Dyck as court painter to the King in 1641. The propensity to collect paintings by Lely was reflected in the high frequencies in the sale catalogues and this was probably due to the fact that there was a great demand in court circles for paintings by Lely. Outside the court the demand for portraits of the Crown and

other personalities was satisfied by minor artists copying after Lely. For example, from a total of seventeen portraits in the sample, nine of these were copies after Lely originals. More than half were portraits of the royal family and aristocrats. A few included portraits of contemporary artists of the time such as "Old Simon", and another portrait of the painter Greenhill's wife, both copies after originals by Lely.<sup>82</sup>

In the 1630's Jan Lievens (1607-1672) visited England to paint portraits for Charles I and an aristocratic circle. However, portraits by this artist were generally rare in sales catalogues of the period. Two portraits appeared in a sale of "paintings, drawings and prints by the best masters", which came under the hammer on the 28 June 1689.<sup>83</sup>

Drawings and prints by Rembrandt van Rijn appeared in one of the earliest sales on May 31 1689,<sup>84</sup> however Rembrandt's portrait paintings appear with greater frequency as the century progressed, but more particularly in sales catalogues from June 1689 to March 1693.<sup>85</sup> A self-portrait of Rembrandt appeared at a sale on 23 November 1691, from a collection of valuable pictures of Cardinal Antonio Barberini and Sir James Palmer.<sup>86</sup> Lastly, a self-portrait of a relatively unknown artist called "Scottus", probably Pieter Schotanus working in Leeuwarden in the seventeenth century, was listed in a sale at the outroper's office, west of the Royal Exchange on 16-17 December 1690.<sup>87</sup>

The third group of artists represented in the sales were those born in the middle seventeenth century. These included the noteworthy artist Godfried Schalcken (1643-1706), who was encouraged to work in England by William and Mary. However, he did not stay long, and therefore paintings by this latter artist rarely appeared in late seventeenth century sales catalogues. A single painting, entitled "An old man writing by candlelight", appeared in a sale after 1694, but

was recorded as being a work after Schalcken.<sup>88</sup>

Portraits of the royal families by the Court artist William Wissing (1655/6-1687) were evenly represented in sales over the period 1689-1693. Out of a total of eight portraits, more than half (that is, five paintings) were by artists after Wissing, and these were mainly portraits of William and Mary which suggests that there were artists making copies to serve the demands of a particular clientele.<sup>89</sup>

A single portrait of an unidentified sitter by "van Huysum" appeared in a sale on 24 September 1690.<sup>90</sup> Unfortunately such incomplete information meant that it was impossible to identify the 'author'. However, judging from the subject matter the latter painting could have been painted by Justus van Huysum (1659-1716), called Justus van Huysum the Elder) a pupil of Berchem, who is also known to have been versatile in painting portraits, landscapes, sea pieces and flower pieces.

Prolific production of drolls and low life painting characterised the oeuvre of Egbert van Heemskerck the Younger (1645-1704). However, the sales catalogues indicate that he also painted portraits. At a sale on 3 April 1690 a painting entitled A friar's head appeared and again at a sale on 24 September 1690 a self-portrait and a three-quarter-length portrait were listed. Three more portraits appeared in sales on 15 June 1691, 13-16 October 1691 and again on 23 March 1693, but unfortunately, since no description of the latter portraits were offered, it is impossible to know whether the portraits were contemporary subjects or low life subjects.<sup>91</sup>

A portrait painting after an artist called "Swart" appeared in a sale at the Vendu in Covent Garden on 22-23 January 1692. An undated inventory of paintings in the house of the Marquis of

Tweeddale in Edinburgh described as "#4, a half length portrait of gentleman by Mr. Swarts (cleaned)" helped to identify the latter artist as Christopher Swart, a relatively unknown artist of German or Dutch descent who appears to have painted for aristocratic households in England.<sup>22</sup>

#### 4.5.2 German Portraiture

Turning again to the frequencies in Table 3 the findings support Waagens view that paintings by German Renaissance and sixteenth century artists were rare in English collections of the nineteenth century, but the findings suggest that paintings of the latter period rarely appeared in collections even as early as last quarter of the seventeenth century. Low frequencies in English collections were recorded for portraits by Albert Durer (1471-1528) and Holbein (1497/8-1543) and also for the work of a relatively unknown artist "Vilbert", probably Bruyn Vilbart or Vuelbart (b. 1445/54).<sup>23</sup>

A single portrait entitled An old head by Durer appeared in a sale on 20-22 Feb. 1690.<sup>24</sup> Prints and paintings of religious histories and religious figures by Durer seemed to be more frequently represented in the sales catalogues than any other subject.

Prints, drawings and paintings by Holbein were represented in the sample from 1689 to 1693. Only two portrait paintings appeared to be originals while two others in sales from 1691-1693 were portraits after Holbein.<sup>25</sup>

Three unidentified sitters by Gerard Soest (1605-1681), a contemporary of Lely painting for court circles in England, appeared at a single sale at Mr. Smith's house in Covent Garden.<sup>26</sup>

Portraits by a relatively unknown artist called variously "Merins" or "Merius" appeared in a sale on 22-23 February 1692. The

latter artist was probably Matthaus Merian (b. in Basle 1621-d. Frankfurt 1687),<sup>97</sup> a portrait painter who followed the style of Van Dyck while in England for a brief period and also spent some time painting in Amsterdam, Paris and Rome so that works by this master were probably fairly well known during his own life time. Two portraits by the latter artist - A Switzer and A self portrait of the artist were listed for sale on 22-23 February 1692. These paintings may have been acquired by English patrons during the artists brief residence in England.

Portraits by Friedrich Kerseboom (or Kersebom) appeared in sales in the 1690's. The most notable example was a portrait of Sir William Portman and his Lady which was listed in a sale on 24th. September, 1690.<sup>98</sup> Kerseboom is better known for portraits of noteworthy members of the Royal Society of London, and these included Robert Boyle, Frances Aston and John Evelyn.<sup>99</sup>

The findings show that by far the highest frequencies were for portraits by Godfried Kneller whose position as Court painter won him great notariety and a following amongst aristocratic and wealthy professionals. However only one of a total of nine paintings in the sales catalogues appear to have been originals by Kneller, the remaining eight were all copies after well known Kneller portraits - of Charles II, James II, the Duke of Monmouth and the Princess of Denmark.<sup>100</sup> This again suggests that there was a 'factory production' of works after portraits by Kneller for clientele who wanted to acquire portraits of the King and noteworthy historical figures of the period but could not afford an original. It is not known what the purchasers paid for copies, but the evidence suggests that they were considerably lower in price, and at auction sales when copies appeared on the market in competition with originals, this tended to lower the

price of original works because buyers could not discern skillfully executed copies from the originals.<sup>101</sup>

#### 4.5.3 Italian Portraiture

The frequency distributions in Table 4 and Table 1 in the Appendix indicates that the numbers of portraits were small. Specifically Table 4 indicates that the row percentages for Italian portraits and landscapes were equal in frequency at 15.4 percent of the total which was not very much lower than biblical histories were 17.3 percent and biblical figures were 19.2 percent of the row total for Italian painting.

Paintings by Giorgione (1477/8-1510) were rare, and the only paintings appearing in the catalogues were copies after Giorgione originals. One of these was a portrait entitled A piper's head and the other a fine copy after Giorgione's Lucretia.<sup>102</sup> Portraits by other Italian masters included 'a woman sleeping' by Dosso Dossi (1479-1542) was listed in a sale at Mr. Smith's house at Covent Garden on 24 September 1690.<sup>103</sup> Two portraits by Procaccini could have been painted either by Ercole (1515-1595) or Giulio (1548-1625).<sup>104</sup> A portrait by an unidentified member of the Carracci family was listed in the sale catalogues. Portraits by Annibale Carracci (1560-1607) were known through prints rather than paintings, but the sale catalogues indicate that collectors acquired a small number of paintings by the latter artist of biblical figures and religious histories.<sup>105</sup> An interesting portrait entitled, Pope Leo and the King of the Hung[probably Pope Leo X (1512-1531)] painted by Guiseppe Cesari (called Cavaliere d'Arpino, 1568-1640) was listed in a sale catalogue in November 1691.<sup>106</sup> Paintings by Guido Reni's (1575-1642) appear to have been rare in late seventeenth century sales but his works were undoubtedly known by auction audiences through prints



which were listed one of the earliest sales in 1689. These included untitled paintings - a single portrait and four history paintings. Original paintings by Reni also appear to have been rare in sales of this period. Paintings appearing in the catalogue from 1690 to 1692 were listed as being paintings after Guido's work. Although biblical and historical subjects formed the majority of the paintings, a single portrait was listed in a sale at the West End of the Exeter Exchange on 3 April 1690.<sup>107</sup>

#### 4.5.4 Venetian Portraiture

The frequency distribution in Table 4 indicates that although the actual frequencies were low, portraits by Venetian artists had the highest frequency (28 percent of the total for Venetian painting) which was slightly higher than the frequencies for the acquisition of allegorical subjects (at 16.3 percent) and biblical figures (at 15.6 percent) of the row total for Venetian paintings. The most exemplary portraits in English collections were works by Raphael d'Urbino (1487-1520),<sup>108</sup> Sebastiano del Piombo (1485-1547);<sup>109</sup> Titian (1488/9-1576)<sup>110</sup> and Jacopo Tintoretto (1518-1594).<sup>111</sup> Paintings by these latter masters were acquired during the seventeenth century by English collectors living in Italy, notably by Sir James Palmer and General Doushfield,<sup>112</sup> and subsequently shipped to England for public sale.

#### 4.5.5 French Portraiture

The frequency distribution for French portraits was low at 10.7 per cent of the row total compared to 53.9 percent for landscapes and 10.2 percent for biblical figures. The chief portraitists represented in the catalogues of the period were Jacques Courtois (1621-1676)<sup>113</sup> who was chiefly a painter of battles and hunting

scenes, and Charles Le Brun (1619-1690)<sup>114</sup> a grand academician. Since both of these artists were history painters, it seems likely that the title "heads" refers to studio studies for history paintings rather than portraits of actual persons.

#### 4.5.6 British Portraiture

Frequencies in actual numbers for British natives were very low, but portraiture represented half (50 percent) of the total for British paintings, followed by seascapes (10 percent) and biblical histories and allegories, each 7.5 per cent of total British painting. The principal artists represented in the sales catalogues were: "Old Wright" (Andrew Wright) sergeant painter to Henry VIII (d. 1543);<sup>115</sup> William Dobson (1610-1646);<sup>116</sup> John Greenhill (1644/5-1676);<sup>117</sup> John Riley (1646-1691);<sup>118</sup> "Hales" (John Hayles, d. 1699);<sup>119</sup> Edward Hawker (d. 1723) who had been a pupil of Lely;<sup>120</sup> The sales catalogues indicate that there was also a market for royal portraits after Riley, Dobson and there was also a market for copies after works by Van Dyck and Lely which had been executed by minor unidentified artists of the period.

IN SUMMARY then it is relevant to note here that, although there were a few fifteenth and sixteenth century paintings by Italian, Flemish and German Renaissance masters represented in the sales, the majority of the portraits were by masters of the late sixteenth to early seventeenth century. These were mainly paintings by seventeenth century Dutch and Flemish artists which were probably collected by English contemporaries of the period, along with paintings by late seventeenth century French and English paintings, representing the most recent additions to contemporary collections.

One of the most interesting features of the sales of this

early period, is that works of the most highly acclaimed artists - particularly Raphael d'Urbino and exemplary sixteenth century masters Giorgione and Guido Reni - were known through drawings and prints. Original paintings by these latter masters were rare. However in the case of Guido Reni and Giorgione copies seem to have been more common in the sales than originals. Once again copies after what must have been well known originals by Lely, William Wissing, Kneller and Godfried Schalcken dominated the market, and this factor would explain why prices for originals and genuine portraits by these latter artists began to decline after sales peaked in 1691.

#### 4.6.0 Genre and Low Life Paintings:

##### Contemporary Attitudes

Late seventeenth century commentators vehemently attacked writers of Restoration comedy and extended their criticism to include low-life painting because it tended to condone satire and debased human behaviour. Motteux for example feared that low life subject matter (like the X-rated films of today), would be detrimental to the psychological, moral and aesthetic outlook of the future generation. To rectify this state of affairs, Motteux argued in support of classical art and suggested that collections should acquire morally edifying works by the most exemplary masters. At the same time critics like Lairese argued that contemporary artists should not slavishly imitate Renaissance old masters, instead he suggested that artists should be innovative and provide something new and exemplary. The sales catalogues indicate that by the 1690's religious and mythological histories had already been collected and were being sold on the art market, but the frequencies were still quite low which agrees with Motteux's discussion of late seventeenth century taste.

Looking forward to the next century, there is evidence to suggest that low-life painting 'suffered' a drastic decline in numbers, indicating that it was no longer being produced and that many paintings of unsavoury subject matter appear to have been destroyed in the 1690's and early 1700s. In the first quarter of the eighteenth century a re-appraisal of Restoration, comedy and satire, was paralleled by a growth in appreciation for low-life painting and the elegant interiors of Van Mieris whose works had been extolled in Gerard de Lairettes's Groot Schilderboek.

A close examination of a number of seventeenth-century inventories dating from the late 1670's to about 1693 indicates that low-life painting was relatively cheap in price. Most of the inventories contained a few droll paintings of village scenes, however in actual fact droll painting was certainly not the predominant form of painting collected. What appears to have happened is that the frequencies of low-life painting varied from collection to collection so that high frequencies in any one collection seemed to be a matter of personal taste. This is evident from the sale catalogues for the period 1689-1694 and from the inventories for the same period. William Cartwright's collection (bequeathed to Dulwich College in 1686/7) contained as many as thirteen low-life paintings in a total collection of 289 paintings.<sup>121</sup> Most of these were the work of a single artist, the Dutch droll painter Egbert van Heemskerck. The prices listed in the margin of this inventory indicate that Cartwright paid as little as £1.0.0 and as much as £15.0.0 for paintings by Heemskerck. The latter appears to be a considerable amount at the time, equal in price to paintings of the four seasons by an artist after Bassano, which were also priced at £15.0.0. On the other hand, only one of the Heemskercks ranged in value from as high as £15.0.0, to £6.0.0 and most of them were priced at £1.0.0. Generally speaking,

a survey of the inventories indicates that the values for low life painting were lower in price than for all other subjects.<sup>122</sup>

Writing in 1881, G.R. Warner in his "Catalogue to the Manuscripts and Muniments of Alleyn's College of God's Gift at Dulwich", noted that paintings by Heemskerck were among the most frequently mentioned paintings in Cartwright's collection.<sup>123</sup> The latter collection, also contained examples of historic portraits by various artists native and foreign such as John Greenhill (1649-1676, pupil of Lely), William Dobson, Balthazar Flessiers, John Payne (d. after 1648), Breugel, Tintoretto, Johnson (probably Laurence Johnson, an engraver in the reign of James I), Isaac Fuller (d. 1672), Richard Burbage (d. 1618/19), an actor and painter, Houseman (Jacob Huysmans) and Walton (probably Parrey Walton, keeper of the King's pictures, d. c. 1700).<sup>124</sup> Most of these artists are represented in the sales catalogues indicating a high degree of homogeneity between the inventories of single households and the sales catalogues of the 1690's.

Although a small number of Heemskerck's paintings are still extant at Dulwich College today, Warner noted that many paintings listed in the original bequest never came into the possession of Dulwich College, being either lost or sold and some destroyed due to the grossness of the subject depicted.<sup>125</sup> Warner's report in fact supports the notion that objection to gross subject matter was the principal reason for removing certain paintings from collections during the 1680's. The reaction of John Aubrey (1719) to some of the paintings in the Dulwich College picture gallery reflects the general attitude of the period. He noted that there were "several worthless pictures and some not too bad, namely, mainly historical portraits of the founder and his first wife, Henry Prince of Wales, Sir Thomas Gresham, Mary Queen of Scotland and several others.<sup>126</sup> However, we do

not know which paintings Aubrey considered to be worthless, but assume these to have been the low-life paintings and other grotesque subjects named in the 1686/7 inventory.

#### 4.6.1 Droll Paintings in the Sales Catalogues

##### 1689-1694 : An Overview

An examination of the sales catalogues for the period shows that low-life painting ranked just below portrait painting in total frequency. However, in many cases, since the titles for many genre paintings suggests that they were probably informal genre of the type that might be considered to have been close to low life painting. Since many of them were also painted by droll painters, the total frequencies were combined with genre to produce a total frequency in numbers equal in rank to portraiture, which was certainly well above the production of religious histories and mythological subjects.

Table 4 indicates that there were slightly more low-life paintings by Dutch masters working in England (12.1 per cent of the row total for Dutch paintings) compared to 7.1 per cent (total Dutch paintings) in English collections. For Dutch paintings produced by artists working abroad, the combined frequency of genre and low life was 19.1 per cent for Dutch artists working in England, compared with 13.9 per cent of the row total for Dutch paintings by artists living in Holland. On the other hand, in regard to Flemish droll paintings in English collections the evidence suggests that there were more paintings by Flemish artists working abroad than in England.

#### 4.6.2 Dutch Low-Life Painters in England

The production of droll painting in England seems to have been the work of a few minor Dutch artists working for English patrons during the last quarter of the seventeenth century. The principal

artist was Egbert van Heemskerck (Haarlem 1645 - London 1704), son of the Dutch painter of the same name (Haarlem 1610-168-). Egbert the elder was called "the peasant" because he specialized in portraits of country people, drolls or boors quarrelling and Dutch ale-houses. The younger Egbert van Heemskerck continued this tradition, but was not as highly regarded in terms of skill as his father, and much of his painting is characterized as being too dark in tone compared with Van Ostade's droll paintings. The sales catalogues listed a few portraits by Heemskerck the elder (#32, 16-17 December 1689), A droll; and in a much later sale at the turn of the century (#170, 4 May 1699), a painting described as Sixteen figures of Country People.

The younger Heemskerck was the most prolific producer of droll paintings in England. In fact the sales catalogues list a total of thirteen paintings by this artist alone, which might suggest that collectors were "unloading" this undesirable art form. The subject matter was quite varied and included such titles as Drolls fighting, A fortune-teller, A woman with a pipe, A man smoking, A lady at confession, A knife grinder, A fish woman fighting. Pictures of friars and friars' heads, quakers meetings, and confessional pieces were also common in the sales catalogues.<sup>127</sup>

Vertue noted that Heemskerck's works were collected by Lord Rochester<sup>128</sup> and Thomas Martyn (1760) recorded a painting entitled Dutch people playing Draughts which he saw when he visited the Duke of Pembroke's residence at Wilton,<sup>129</sup> during his visits to country houses in 1760s.

High frequencies in the sales were also apparent for low-life drolleries by the Dutch artist Daniel Boon or Boone (b. ? 1698). However a sale at Mr. Smith's house at Covent Garden on 24 September 1690 indicated that he also painted subjects which might be considered informal genre rather than vulgar or grotesque low-life painting

depicting people as they appear in everyday life of the period.<sup>130</sup> These included such entries as A man with a crowing cock and A boy with a wax candle.<sup>131</sup>

#### 4.6.3 Dutch Low-Life Masters Abroad

Dutch low life masters working abroad included "Droogsloot" or "Drogensloote", no doubt Nicholaas Droochsloot (d. 1702), whose works included scenes of Kermis dances, wakes, and peasant scenes. However, the sale catalogues indicate that paintings by Droochsloot were quite rare until after 1694.<sup>132</sup> Paintings by this artist were by no means frequent, even in eighteenth century catalogues.<sup>133</sup>

A sale on 27 March 1693 at the Outroper's Office listed a painting of A droll by 'Dusart'.<sup>134</sup> This was no doubt Cornelis Dusart (d.1704), the last pupil of Adriaen von Ostade. Historically Dusart followed the style and subjects of Ostade, but was not considered to be as skilful as his master.

A single painting by Pieter van Laer or Laar (called Bamboccio) (1582-1642),<sup>135</sup> was listed in a sale on 22-23 January 1692. Although van Laer was considered to be noteworthy enough for his Italian sojourn and for his street scenes inspired by Carravaggio, paintings by this master appear to have rarely reached the market place.

In a sale on 23 March 1693, A droll painting by Cornelis de Mooy (1656-1701)<sup>136</sup> was listed. This artist was versatile enough to have mastered the techniques of painting landscapes with figures and seascapes. Sales on 31 May 1689 and 20-22 February 1690 listed droll paintings for sale by the little-known artist Hendrick Potuyl who was working in Amsterdam in the years 1639-1670.<sup>137</sup> Low-life and drolls were subjects painted by Adriaen van de Venne (1589-1662).<sup>138</sup> In a sale on the 31st May 1689 a painting of drolls by "Vischer and Ostade"



was undoubtedly by Cornelis Vischer (1620-1670),<sup>139</sup> and the droll painter Adriaen van Ostade. This painting is evidence that these two latter artists collaborated to produce paintings, and that this experience was no doubt beneficial for Vischer's production of engravings after paintings by Ostade and Pieter van Laer, and also included engravings after landscapes by Wouwermans and van Goyen.

Adriaen van Ostade's (1610-1685) paintings of drunken drolls and carousing peasants were themes inspired by his master Adriaen Brouwer, and harked back to paintings by Peter Breugel the Elder. A relatively high frequency (ten paintings) suggests that van Ostade's works were well-known amongst collectors during this period.<sup>140</sup> Although Droll paintings appear to have formed the major part of the latter's oeuvre (as shown by the following examples in sales : #14, 31 May 1689; #24, 2 August 1689; #36, 20-22 February), Van Ostade also painted a number of informal subjects such as A portrait of a man and woman's head (sale #36 see above) and two paintings by an artist after Ostade, and another entitled: A woman spinning (sale # 24), was listed in a sale on 2 August 1689. What is most revealing is that potential collectors of paintings acquired a knowledge of Van Ostade's work through prints which were being sold in the earliest sales during 1689. For example, lot #13 and #14, 31 May 1689 although untitled suggested that prints and drawings by Van Ostade were being offered for sale at the same time as paintings. <sup>141</sup>

Dutch painters of genre represented in the sales were Franz Hals (1580/81-1666); Gerard Dou (1613-1675);<sup>142</sup> <sup>143</sup> and Franz van Mieris (1635-1681); and also included Egbert van Heemskerck,<sup>144</sup> the low-life painter discussed previously. However, the titles of paintings in the sales catalogues indicate that he also painted simple informal genres such as A man and a woman, A lady at confession, A Quakers meeting, a painting of Good fellowship and A grace piece.<sup>145</sup>

Genre paintings by Lucas van Leyden appeared in sales on 2 August 1689, and again on 16-17 December 1689.<sup>146</sup> A painting entitled A woman before a looking glass by Frans van Mieris came under the hammer on 22-23 January 1692.<sup>147</sup> Paintings of the same subject were also painted by Gerard ter Borch, and the sales catalogues indicated that more of these kinds of subjects appeared in the sales particularly after 1694.<sup>148</sup> For example, a single painting entitled A beggar sleeping appeared in a sale on 4 May 1699. Similarly elegant genre paintings by Jacob Ochtervelt (d. before 1710) were also rare during the period and once again, only a single painting entitled A music piece with a fool was mentioned in the catalogue for sale on 4 May 1699.<sup>149</sup> Informal genre subjects were engraved by Pieter van Rolestraten who lived in England in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, and died in London in 1700. A sale catalogue dated 24 September 1690 listed a painting entitled A cobbler and his family.<sup>150</sup> Godfried Schalken's (1643-1706) work was better known in England as he was employed both in Holland and England by William and Mary. However, paintings by this artist appear to be rare on the art market until after 1694. A painting entitled an old man writing by candlelight, a typical Schalken subject, appeared in the sale catalogue for 4 May 1699.<sup>151</sup> The elegant genre interiors which characterized the works of van Mieris, Gabriel Netscher (1629-1667) and Pieter de Hooch (1629- after 1684) did not appear in any of the early sales catalogues for the period 1689 to 1694 and were still rare in eighteenth-century English collections as illustrated in Chapter Five.

#### 4.6.4 Flemish Low Life and Genre Painters

The frequency distribution in Table 4 indicates that English collections contained droll paintings by Flemish artists working

abroad (13.2 percent of the Flemish total) and genre (10.2 percent). The highest frequencies in sale catalogues before 1694 were for low-life paintings by Jan Breugel the Elder (1568-1625), also known as "Booren-Breugel" or Peasant Breugel.<sup>152</sup> The sales listed at least eleven or more paintings of drolls and genre subjects by Adriaen Brouwer (1605-1638).<sup>153</sup> In addition, a relatively minor artist called Cotshears, probably Jan Cotsiers or Cossiers (1600-1671), who although primarily a portrait painter also extended his oeuvre to include portraits of drolls.<sup>154</sup> Another artist, described in the catalogues as "van Lanen", was probably Van der Lanen of Antwerp (1620-1651/2), a painter of conversations, along with "riotous and indecent subjects". A painting entitled "Wrestlers" which came under the hammer on June 28, 1687, might have been one of the grotesque pieces for which this artist was known.<sup>155</sup> Occasionally there were single paintings by relatively unknown artists appearing in the sales catalogues. One example included A droll painting by "Van der Oast" (probably Jacob van der Oast) who was working in Bruges until 1671.<sup>156</sup>

By far the most popular artist of low life and drolls was David Teniers (probably David II) (1610-1690). The earliest sales in 1689 included prints and drawings by Teniers which must have been one means by which knowledge about this latter artists work was diffused amongst collectors. In fact it is perhaps significant here that the sales from 1689-1691 show higher frequencies of droll paintings by Teniers than any other kinds of subject matter. For example a sale on 31 May 1689 listed a drawing and a print both entitled Drolls.<sup>157</sup> Sales on 2 August 1689 featured two paintings, A Droll after Teniers and another described as A droll-usurer. Two more drolls featured in the sales of 16-17 December 1689 and #36, 20-22 February 1690. A humorous painting of Two men lousing was put in

for sale on 15 June 1691.<sup>158</sup>

Since there were no annotated sales catalogues describing prices it is impossible to estimate whether the prices for Teniers work were below or above average compared with other droll paintings in auction sales of the period. However, by the eighteenth century Teniers appears to have been one of the most popular artists and his work brought above average prices at sales. However, an examination of private collections was one means of estimating market value for Teniers paintings in this early period, but even then it was difficult since original paintings appear to have been rare. In the estimate of pictures at Ham House dated around 1699 there were two paintings by Teniers II, one A Droll painting by Micars, from the school of Teniers, which was valued at £2.0.0; and another painting which was described as A pastiche of Teniers after J Bassano<sup>159</sup> valued at £15.0.0. On the whole these valuations suggest that droll painting was generally lower priced than historical or mythological subjects. However, copies of genre subjects after noteworthy Italian masters appear to have been valued higher than droll painting.

#### 4.6.5 Flemish Painters of Genre

The sales catalogues demonstrated that a few of the most meritorious painters normally identified as history painters also showed a natural proclivity for the painting of informal genre, the kind of painting which could be regarded as the precursor of the eighteenth century 'conversation piece'. Even Peter Paul Rubens painted informal genre subjects a few of which were listed in the sales catalogues. One of these was entitled A Night Piece with Gypsies, whose title suggests a gypsy encampment illuminated by a fire or moonlight and landscape setting. There were other genre pieces by Rubens but the titles are less illuminating and suggest the

kind of subjects which might have been studies for history paintings, notably A Friar and A Clown by an anonymous artist after Rubens.<sup>160</sup> The sale catalogues recorded a genre painting entitled An Old Woman Reading by Jacob Jordaens (1593-1678)<sup>161</sup> which represented but a single painting out of a total of ten history paintings by this artist.

The propensity to acquire paintings by Teniers was evident from the high frequency of paintings in the sales catalogues. Since it was common for catalogues to omit the christian name it was difficult to identify the 'author' of the painting except tentatively as David Teniers (1610-1690). Most of these paintings listed were probably collected by English contemporaries visiting the Low Countries during the last quarter of the seventeenth century. The titles are interesting in themselves because they alone give the reader a clue to the subject matter depicted - notably such subjects as Men bowling, A boy and his dog, A doctor, and A country man and his wife.<sup>162</sup>

The sales catalogues identified a number of informal genre subjects called conversation pieces which were painted by such minor artists as Willem de Ryck (1635 - London 1699)<sup>163</sup> and Jan de Groot (1650 - d. unknown)<sup>164</sup>

An examination of private inventories to correlate the above information indicates that informal genre subjects of the type listed above appear to have been quite rare in late seventeenth-century collections.<sup>165</sup> It is also important to note here that informal but elegant Dutch interiors of Mieris, de Hooch and Metsu, rarely appeared in the sales catalogues or in the inventories of the period. This suggests that these subjects were both rare in number and therefore highly prized by Continental collectors, so that they were not available to English collectors until the eighteenth century when more Europeans came to England to invest in stocks and other opportunities

in the market. The growth in the demand for this latter kind of genre will be investigated in Chapter Five.

#### 4.6.6 Italian and Venetian Genre Painters

Although low-life paintings by Italian and Venetian artists did not appear in the sample of sales catalogues of 1689-1694 there were, however, small numbers of genre painters. These included a painting entitled A kitchen piece by Bassano (probably Jacopo Bassano, 1510-1592)<sup>166</sup> A Boy playing on bagpipes by Guido Reni (1575-1642)<sup>167</sup> and A hermit by Salvator Rosa.<sup>168</sup>

A number of late seventeenth-century inventories indicate that paintings by Jacob Bassano were among the most widely collected paintings in seventeenth century collections.<sup>169</sup> In an inventory dated 30 June 1671 there were several paintings by Bassano at Northumberland House, including a genre painting entitled A little picture where one sits [sic] sleeping by a cowe with other figures in it by Bassan.<sup>170</sup> At Petworth (30 July 1671) a few paintings of Bassano were listed including one entitled A piece where there is a boy climbing a tree. Both of these paintings were valued at £10.0.0. each.<sup>171</sup>

#### 4.6.7 British Painters of Genre and Low Life

The sales catalogues indicate that there was a very small number of native British artists who specialised in painting low life and genre paintings, probably in imitation of the Dutch and Flemish models which were available during the seventeenth century.

The most prominent names were those usually associated with portrait painting, namely William Dobson and Robert Streater (1624-1680) but the following examples indicate that they also painted genre

subjects inspired by Dutch, Italian and Spanish paintings. For example, the sales catalogues listed a painting by Dobson entitled A singing master teaching a pupil to sing,<sup>172</sup> which seems to echo works by Ochtervelt, while on the other hand, Streater's painting of Five boys with castanets,<sup>173</sup> undoubtedly harks back to Spanish sources. There are a number of genre paintings by unidentified minor artists in the sales, such as Brookel's Conversation piece,<sup>174</sup> Mason's Smoker,<sup>175</sup> - undoubtedly attempts to imitate similar subjects by Dutch artists - Brouwer, Ostade or Heemskerck. Another unknown artist called 'Moriner' painted A butcher dressing a hog,<sup>176</sup> which brings to mind similar subjects such as van Ostade's Interior with a Slaughtered Pig (1637, Frankfurt-am-Main), and Rembrandt's painting entitled The Slaughtered Ox (1655, The Louvre, Paris), indicating that this genre must have been fairly common place amongst seventeenth century Dutch artists.

The main findings show that the majority of low-life paintings in English collections were by Dutch artists living and working in England. These were mostly the work of a single artist Egbert van Heemskerck who painted drolls, peasants fighting, quaker meetings, friars, nuns and pieces which were undoubtedly statements about religious minorities existing in England during the 1680s. It is interesting that there were small frequencies of droll paintings by artists working exclusively in Holland and Flanders which were probably purchased by collectors during trips abroad or from private dealers in London. Smaller frequencies of paintings by Dutch genre painters, Hals, Gerard Dou and Van Mieris and a few by older sixteenth century masters Rubens, Jordaens and Teniers appeared in sales catalogues during the 1680s and 1690s.

#### 4.7.0 Biblical Histories : An Overview

The sales catalogues indicate that although puritan objection to religious subject matter undoubtedly favoured the production and sale of secular art forms, the Reformation in Holland and in England had effected changes in the function of religious art. This can be seen in Rembrandt's tendency to produce secular works using the parables and stories from the bible. The titles indicate that collectors acquired paintings depicting figures of the saints such as St. Matthew and St. John, and they also acquired religious paintings mainly stories from the Bible. The most popular subjects were the prodigal son, the Last Supper, Christ carrying the Cross, King Solomon's judgement, Peter's denial, and others which will be discussed in detail below. However referring to the frequency distribution in Table 3, the evidence suggests that the chief producers of biblical histories and biblical figures were artists from Catholic countries, - Italy, Venice, Flanders and France; but there was also examples of biblical histories by older German masters.

Contrary to expectation, however, there was a small production of biblical figures (mainly figures of saints), by Flemish artists working in England for English patrons during the last quarter of the seventeenth century. This suggests that artistic change tends to predate social change in which the acceptance of religious painting, suggests that an atmosphere of religious tolerance already existed prior to the passing of the Act of Toleration in 1689.

#### 4.7.1 German Painters of Biblical Histories

English collectors also acquired biblical histories by a few noteworthy German artists which represented a frequency of ten, that is, 27.0 per cent (of total German output). The sales catalogues for the period 1689-1694 indicate that the most significant artists were



Albert Durer, Bartholet Flemal, Franz Friederich Franck and Johann von Bockhorst. The work of Albert Durer was known through prints which appeared simultaneously with paintings in one of the earliest sales of the period.<sup>179</sup> However, the evidence suggests that higher frequencies of religious histories and figures appeared generally in sales in the 1690's. There was a total of five paintings by Durer: A portrait, Our Saviour and Virgin, Our Saviour, A Roman wedding and a history painting entitled Our Saviour Hoodwinked.<sup>180</sup> A single biblical history by the seventeenth century artist Bartholet Flemal (1614-1675) described as the Scourging of our Saviour appeared in a sale on 22-23 January 1692.<sup>180</sup> Paintings by Franz Friedrich Franck (1627-1687) seem to have been more widely collected. The sales catalogues listed eight paintings of biblical figures in sales from July 1689 to March 1693.<sup>181</sup> A painting of King Solomon's Judgement (after Rubens) by Johann von Bockhorst (1610-1668) called Lange John (or Long John) who was also a scholar of Jacob Jordaens, came up for sale on 24 September 1691.<sup>182</sup>

The evidence here seems to support Waagen's observations that there were few if any original paintings by Renaissance masters, notably a few prints after Durer were collected, but there were no original paintings by this artist in the sample of sale catalogues. Better known however, were the works of two contemporary seventeenth century artists, Franck and Von Bockhorst, probably because they were easier to acquire.

#### 4.7.2 Italian Painters of Biblical Histories

The frequencies for Italian masters were slightly lower than the German frequencies at (nine paintings, that is, 17.3 percent of Italian paintings as a total). The most frequently mentioned artists included works by an artist called "Michelangelo", but it is not

known if this was the famous Michelangelo Buonarroti or Michelangelo Caravaggio as identified by Charles I's catalogue. A print of The Day of Judgement and a painting of Joseph interpreting Pharaoh's dream were probably works after Michelangelo Buonarroti.<sup>103</sup> Prints after famous masters of the High Renaissance notably works by Raphael d'Urbino (1483-1520),<sup>104</sup> Andrea de Sarto (1486-1531)<sup>105</sup> and Guilio Romano (1499-1546)<sup>106</sup> were available in the earliest sales catalogues, but paintings by these latter masters were extremely rare, in fact none appear in the sample of sales catalogues. The most frequently collected paintings were the works of Italian artists of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. For example, an untitled history painting by Andrea Schiavone (1540-1563)<sup>107</sup> was listed in a sale in November 1691. Sometimes the family name was the only clue to identify a painting as in the case of a painting entitled A Woman taken in Adultery by "Carracci" (an unidentified member of the Carracci family) was listed in sale in November 1689.<sup>108</sup> In addition there were three paintings by Annibale Carracci, depicting stories from the Old and New Testaments<sup>109</sup> were listed.

The sales also indicated that collectors were familiar with religious paintings by Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio (1571-1610)<sup>110</sup> Guido Reni (1575 - 1642)<sup>111</sup> and Carlo Maratti (1625-1713).<sup>112</sup>

Once again the evidence suggests that original paintings by High Renaissance Italian artists were rare in English collections in this early period, and that paintings by late sixteenth and early seventeenth century artists tended to be more prominent in auction sales.

#### 4.7.3 Biblical Histories Produced by other Countries

The sales catalogues show that there was a small production of biblical histories by Flemish artists - a total of 7.3 per cent (of Flemish output). A biblical history after Jacob Jordaens<sup>113</sup> was

featured in the sales along with paintings by minor Flemish masters and a small group of British artists-( representing 7.5 per cent of total British painting).<sup>194</sup>

#### 4.7.4 Biblical Figures

##### Paintings by Flemish Artists

The sale catalogues indicated that the English had acquired paintings of biblical figures which had been produced by Flemish artists working in England ( 31 paintings, that is, 19.0 percent of the total for Flemish artists working in England), compared with only 4.7 percent produced by Flemish artists working abroad. The chief Flemish masters appearing in the sales were the relatively unknown artists Jasper Cruyer (1584-1669)<sup>195</sup> and "van Balen", probably Hendrick (1560-1638) or his son Jan (1611-1654), who were painters of religious figures.<sup>196</sup> Sir Anthony Van Dyck's works appear to have been known through the collecting and sales of prints as illustrated in an early sale catalogue dated 31 May 1689<sup>197</sup> and later through paintings. But as the sales show these were mostly by artists working after Van Dyck, which were available in fairly large numbers, compared with a smaller collection of what we can assume to have been Van Dyck originals. <sup>198</sup> Other masters included the lesser-known Frans Francken, "the younger";<sup>199</sup> and "Houseman", no doubt Jacob Huysmans (1656 - d. London 1696).<sup>200</sup> The sales catalogues listed paintings by Balthazar van Lemens (1637 - d. London 1704), a painter of mythological and biblical histories.<sup>201</sup> In addition, the sales show that works by Sir Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) had also been widely collected,<sup>202</sup> and these include many copies by artists after Rubens. In a sale of the Flemish artist Willem Deryck's collection of paintings in 1699 there is evidence to show that Deryck and his wife painted histories and religious figures after Flemish and Italian old

masters.<sup>203</sup> For example, in a sale on 13-16 October 1691, a single painting entitled A Magdalen by Deryck was listed but there were many more examples in Deryck's collection.

There were smaller frequencies of religious figure painting by such artists as Maerten de Vos (1531/2-1603);<sup>204</sup> Gerard Seghers (1591-1651)<sup>205</sup> and the little known Thomas Willeboirts (1614-1654).<sup>206</sup> Paintings of religious figures by older classically inspired Flemish masters also appeared in the sales but they were extremely rare. These included Mabuse (Jan Gossaert, working 1503-1532),<sup>207</sup> whose paintings were acquired by Henry VIII and passed by inheritance to Charles I; Martin Pepijn (1575-1642/3),<sup>208</sup> Frans Pourbus II (1569-1622)<sup>209</sup> and an artist listed as "Quellen" (probably Erasmus Quellenus, 1607-1678).<sup>210</sup>

#### 4.7.5 Italian Painters of Biblical Figures

The frequencies in numbers for Italian biblical figures in Table 3 was considerably lower than paintings by Flemish artists. There were only 10 paintings collected, that is, 19.2 per cent of the total for Italian paintings and a frequency of 8 paintings for Venetian painting that is, 18.6 per cent of the total for Venetian painting. Many of the Italian painters of biblical histories which were mentioned in section 4.7.2 above were also painters of single biblical figures. By far the largest number of paintings in the sales were by the "Carracci", probably the brothers Ludovico (1555-1619) and Annibale (1560-1609). These artists also painted biblical figures in addition to biblical histories which can be observed in the sales of the period, notably a single painting of A Virgin and Child and paintings by Annibale Carracci included A Virgin and A Madonna.<sup>211</sup> Furthermore, a sale on 23 November 1691 noted a painting entitled St. Austin by Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio (1571-1610).<sup>212</sup>

The sales catalogues suggest that collectors acquired a knowledge about particular artists first from prints which were available in large numbers in the earliest sales in 1689. These included biblical figures by Polidoro de Caravaggio (Polidoro Caldera, 1495/1500-1543).<sup>213</sup> A print by Andrea del sarto (1486-1531) entitled A Trinity represented by three children was listed in a sale on 23 November 1691.<sup>214</sup> On the other hand, paintings by Raphael d'Urbino (1483-1520) were rare during the 1690's, however a number of prints by Raphael d'Urbino were listed in a sale on 31 May 1689. These included prints of St. George, The Virgin and St. Elizabeth, and The Ascension.<sup>215</sup> Lastly, paintings by Guido Reni (1575-1642) notably A Madonna by a disciple of Guido, and a St. Sebastian were among a list of old master paintings from the collection of Cardinal Antonio Barberini and Sir James Palmer which had been acquired in Italy.<sup>216</sup>

#### 4.7.6 Other Countries

There was a small production of biblical figures by such High Renaissance Venetian artists as Titian,<sup>217</sup> and Jacopo Tintoretto.<sup>218</sup> French painters of biblical figures were rare in English collections. Only a few paintings by Jacques Courtols were represented in the sample.<sup>219</sup>

There were some interesting examples of Biblical figures by German masters present in English sales catalogues for the boom period, but again, the frequencies for German painting were quite small. Prints, wood cuts and paintings by the famous Renaissance master Albert Durer (1471-1528) were present in sales as early as May 1689. These included, a painting of Our Saviour and the Virgin, and Our Saviour Hood-winked [sic.] meaning 'deceived', among the subjects listed.<sup>220</sup> Paintings by the classically inspired Adam Elsheimer (1570-1620) appear to have been rare in English collections

The only example was a painting of Judith which was listed in a sale on 23rd March 1693.<sup>221</sup> It is known that Elsheimer's landscapes had considerably less impact on Dutch landscapists than on Dutch history painters notably Lastman, Moyaert and the Pynas brothers.<sup>222</sup> Historically he is perhaps better known as the master of the Flemings, Paul Brill and the young Peter Paul Rubens. Two paintings of Our Saviour carrying the Cross by the seventeenth century German artist Franz Friedrich Franck were listed in a sale in July 1689.<sup>223</sup> Paintings of the Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalen by an unknown artist called 'Wilbergh' (presumably a German artist) who was one of the few which could not be identified, were listed for sale on 24th September 1690.<sup>224</sup>

#### 4.8.0 Allegorical Painting

The frequency distribution in Table 3 indicates that there were thirteen (13 paintings) paintings of allegorical subjects by Dutch and Flemish artists working in England and collected by English patrons. This analysis can be compared with smaller numbers of paintings which were probably acquired abroad. However, when these figures were expressed as a percentage of the total output for each country in Table 4, then Dutch allegorical paintings represents only 2.8 percent of total Dutch paintings in the sample, and Flemish a little higher at 5.0 percent of the total Flemish paintings. On the other hand, lower frequencies in numbers were recorded for Venice (at 7 in number) and Italy (6 in number) but these represented a higher percentage of the total subject matter, (that is, 16.3 percent of the total Venetian paintings in the sample, and 11.5 percent of the total Italian paintings). On the other hand there were very small frequencies in numbers for French allegorical subjects (3 in total number; 7.7 per cent of French paintings); British allegories (total

of 3 in number; 7.5 per cent of total British paintings) and lastly German allegorical subjects (a total of 2 in number: 5.4 per cent of total German paintings.)

The findings indicate that although the propensity to collect seventeenth century Dutch painting was higher overall, acquisition of allegorical subjects was much lower than for all other seventeenth century Dutch subjects. While on the other hand the reverse was true for Venetian and Italian painting, where allegorical paintings represented higher percentage frequencies of the total Venetian and Italian painting collected. However, the most interesting factor to arise from this research is that English collections contained a larger proportion of secular subject matter generally.

The following discussion examines the kinds of allegorical subjects painted (using titles as a guide to content) to determine whether there is a notable difference between the allegorical subjects painted by Dutch artists compared with Italian and the rest.

#### 4.8.1 Summary of Dutch Allegorical Paintings

Briefly then, the Dutch painters of allegorical subjects included artists who had studied Italian High Renaissance and Mannerism notably, Hendrick Goltzius, Cornelis van Haarlem, Cornelis Poelenburgh; and artists displaying a change to greater realism, Franz Hals and Frans van Mieris, Abraham Hondius, and Drogersloote. A sale catalogue dated 2 August 1689 listed a painting entitled Unity, Peace and Plenty by Goltzius.<sup>225</sup> Two paintings of Fortune, the inconstant goddess of antiquity were present in the sales. This was a common subject painted by both Dutch and Italian artists of the period. A sale on 3 April 1690 listed a Fortune by Franz Hals,<sup>226</sup> and another appeared in a sales catalogue on 24 September 1690 by Cornelis van Haarlem.<sup>227</sup> Allegories by the London based Baroque artist

Abraham Hondius <sup>228</sup> had the highest frequency, and these included such subjects as Bacchus, Pallas (Minerva) and Venus, and a painting entitled A Bacchanal and Mortality. Two paintings listed in a sales catalogue dated 23 November 1691 entitled A Satyr and a Woman - also known by the titles Satyr and Venus or Satyr and the peasant, - subjects from La Fontaine and Aesop, commonly painted by artists of the low countries. The second painting by Poelenburgh listed in the same sales catalogue entitled A Temple of Love was undoubtedly a classically inspired landscape. <sup>229</sup> Van Mieris's painting of A woman before a looking glass although previously mentioned under genre painting has also been mentioned again here since we know that in Dutch painting this subject alluded to an allegory of Venus. <sup>230</sup> It appears to have been a common theme in both Italian and Northern painting as illustrated by Paris Bordone's Courtesan before a Mirror which is also mentioned again below. <sup>231</sup> Lastly, a sales catalogue dated 24 September 1690 listed a painting of Flora by an unidentified artist "Van Hauka" and a collaborator called "Montingo", <sup>232</sup> who can be identified as Antonio Montingo an assistant to Verrio at Windsor.

4.8.2 Flemish Allegorical Subjects were largely from classical sources, although there were also some secular subjects such as Jan Breugel's Blind leading the Blind <sup>233</sup> and Jacob Huysman's Roman Charity <sup>234</sup>, commonly represented as a woman suckling two children. The most frequently mentioned, however, were paintings by Van Dyck. These included vanitas paintings listed as "Ecce Homo" and others which suggest themes of classical origin, <sup>235</sup> A Diana which included, A Diana and Satyr (probably Diana and Pan); Jupiter and a naked woman (probably Jupiter and Juno), representing an allegory of the power of love. In a sale on 16-17 December 1689 a painting of Mars and Venus by van Dyck was also listed, <sup>236</sup> a common metaphorical representation of



psychological conflict of love overcoming strife.

Among the allegorical subjects acquired by English collectors and listed in the sales, the earliest painting was A Sacrifice by Peter Paul Rubens which was listed in a sale on 3 April 1690.<sup>237</sup> Classical allegories which were the principle subjects of Bartholomeus Spanger (1546-1611), were collected and these included paintings entitled Bacchus, and another entitled Ceres and Venus.<sup>238</sup> The latter subject was commonly a personification of the idea that love grows cold without the stimulus of food and wine. Other classical themes referring to peace, love and fecundity included a painting of Venus and Cupid. A print by Spranger of the Banquet of the Gods, (probably representing the various gods and goddesses of antiquity), was also a theme used by artists as a means of portraying the patron and his court. Another catalogue listed a single painting entitled the Four Pieces of Elements (which was commonly regarded as a personification of earth, air, fire and water) was painted by Jan van Kessel, the Elder (1626-1679).<sup>239</sup>

4.8.3 The most frequently collected Italian and Venetian paintings of classical mythologies appear to have been by Paris Bordone (1500-1571) whose painting entitled Courtesan looking into a glass could be regarded as a secularized allegory of Venus, a subject which was also used in paintings of the Low Countries, as mentioned above.<sup>240</sup> A painting entitled Venus and Satyr by Bordone also featured in the same sale. There were a number of variations on this theme - for example, a single painting by Titian entitled Venus, Cupid and Satyr and A Naked Venus were sold in separate sales in 1690.<sup>241</sup> A sales catalogue dated 12 July 1689 listed an Ecco Homo by Tintoretto (1518-1594), and in addition a painting entitled A Historical representation of Vice and Virtue appeared in the same sale.<sup>242</sup> Carracci's print of

The Four Elements which appeared in a sale on 31 May 1689,<sup>243</sup> certainly pre-dated van Kessel's painting of the same theme above and the Carracci print was sold the year before Van Kessel's painting,<sup>244</sup> which probably enabled collectors to trace the historical precedents in the painting of allegorical and historical subjects.

In a sale on 22-23 January 1692 a painting entitled The Fall of Phaethon by Raphael d'Urbino (1483-1520) was listed.<sup>245</sup> The latter theme was popular in Renaissance and Baroque painting and was often used for ceiling decoration. It was traditional to represent Phaethon and the over-turned chariot driven by four white horses all tumbling out out of the sky with Jupiter in one corner throwing a thunder bolt. The same sale listed above, a life size painting by Guido Reni (1576-1642) depicting the classical subject of Fortune<sup>246</sup> the ancient goddess who bestowed her favours at random which was also a subject commonly painted by Flemish and Dutch artists which has been noted above under Dutch Allegorical Subjects.

Although paintings by Guilio Romano (1499-1546) were also rare in sales. The evidence suggests that collectors were probably familiar with prints of his work, such as the one entitled Ten Roman Prophecies which appeared in one of the earliest sales catalogues of the period, (dated 31 May 1689).<sup>247</sup>

#### 4.8.3 SUMMARY OF ALLEGORICAL PAINTINGS

Most of the Allegorical paintings acquired by English collectors during this early period listed in the sales catalogues were by Italian Venetian and Flemish masters, while on the other hand, there were very small frequencies for the acquisition of Dutch allegorical subjects. An important feature of this study is that the titles of both Northern painting (Dutch and Flemish) and Italian allegorical paintings indicate a common knowledge of classical source

material. As far as the transmission of style and technique is concerned it is common knowledge that Dutch and Flemish artists had studied painting in Italy since the Renaissance. Even those who did not have the opportunity to travel to the south, became familiar with the oeuvre of important Italian masters through prints and engravings. The acquisition of books and prints dealing with classical subjects increased during the period and seemed to parallel the increase in paintings as illustrated by the Graph of Imports of books and paintings in the Appendix to Chapter Three. Allegorical paintings undoubtedly provided visual reinforcement to classical literature which was available at the same time.

#### 4.9.0 Mythological Histories

Mythological histories were also low in total frequency. The highest producers of this subject were mainly Dutch painters working abroad (10 in number; 6.5 per cent of total Dutch paintings) followed by Venetian painters with a total of two (2) paintings representing 4.7 per cent of total Venetian paintings.

#### 4.9.1 Dutch Painters of Mythological Histories

In 1689, the opening year for auction sales, there were as many as six untitled prints and some paintings by the Mannerist artist Hendrick Goltzius (1558-1617); these were mainly paintings of figures of saints.<sup>248</sup> Mythological histories by Cornelis van Haarlem (1562-1638) were also present in the sales.<sup>249</sup> These included Terquin and Lucretia, Pyramis and Thisbe and also included allegorical subjects which have been discussed in a previous section.

The principal Dutch painters of mythological histories were notably: Abraham Bloemaert (1564-1658), the exponent of International High Mannerism whose works included The Golden Age of Man, a theme of

primal innocence from Ovid's Metamorphosis; and a secular history subject entitled Six Days' Work.<sup>250</sup> Abraham Blooteling (1634-1671), a painter of portraits and histories in England and abroad, also painted themes from Ovid's A Golden Age.<sup>251</sup>

#### 4.9.2 Dutch Painters of Mythological Histories in England

The principal Dutch painter of mythological histories in England was Adriaen Heny or Hennin (d. London 1710) . This is surprising since he appears to have been primarily a landscape artist painting in the mode of Gaspar Poussin. Sales in 1690 listed a painting entitled Rinaldo and Armida, representing the ill-fated lovers from the Italian epic poem of Gerusalemme Liberata (Jerusalem Delivered) by Tasso (1544-1595). Another painting by Hennin was entitled A Landscape of Pomona,<sup>252</sup> a common theme amongst Northern Mannerist painters. The title usually refers to Pomona and Vertumnus an Italian god and goddess, the protectors of gardens, orchards and ripening fruits from Ovid's Metamorphosis.

The analysis of the sales catalogues indicates that by the 1690s English collectors had acquired many examples of mythological histories by early Dutch exponents of classicism notably by Jan van Schorel (1495-1562), father of Renaissance painting in the Holland , and examples of the work of the Mannerist painters Hendrick Goltzius, Cornelis van Haarlem and Abraham Bloemaert. There were also examples in the sales of mythological histories by less well known contemporaries of the seventeenth century

#### 4.9.3 Italian and Venetian Painters of Mythological Histories

Repeated versions of Venus and Satyr and Venus and Cupid by Titian were prominent in English collections of the seventeenth century .<sup>253</sup> These included a painting entitled Venus and Satyr by

Paris Bordone, pupil of Titian.<sup>264</sup> and another example entitled Mars and Venus by Tintoretto after a Titian original appeared in a sale on 2 August 1689.<sup>265</sup> This is not really surprising since paintings of mythological subjects were generally not part of Tintoretto's oeuvre, but such an example indicates that Tintoretto certainly admired paintings by Titian.

Mythological histories by Italian masters included The fall of Phaeton which has been discussed above was probably a highly accomplished work by Raphael d'Urbino (1487-1520).<sup>266</sup> A painting entitled A Medusa's head by Raphael's chief assistant Giulio Romano was listed in a sale on 23 November 1691,<sup>267</sup> and since the latter was primarily a history painter a plausible assumption is that the latter painting was a portrait study for a history painting. Two classical themes painted by the Baroque artist Pietro da Cortona of a Bacchanal and Diana and the Nymphs were listed in a sale in the 1690's.<sup>268</sup> A painting of Ulysses by Salvator Rosa was probably the kind of study which would have been used to accompany a history piece set in landscape.<sup>269</sup>

#### 4.9.4 Flemish Mythological Histories

The sales catalogues indicate that there was a relatively high propensity to collect mythological histories of classical inspiration, mainly Venus and Cupid which appears to have been a popular subject for Northern artists. A Venus and Cupid by Bartholomeus Spranger,<sup>270</sup> the noteworthy late Mannerist painter whose works were inspired by Corregio and Parmigianino was listed in a sale on the 22-23 June 1692. A sale in September 1690 listed A Venus and Cupids by Willem de Keyser a Flemish artist who worked in London until his death in 1692.<sup>271</sup> A sale on 28 June, 1689 listed a well-known subject of Jupiter and Leda by Cornelis Schutt (1597-1655) and it was customary for artists to

depict Leda the wife of Tyndareus, King of Sparta embracing a swan, which was the form Jupiter assumed as a disguise. <sup>262</sup>

#### 4.9.5 French Mythological Histories

The collecting of Mythologies by French artists was extremely low in frequency, and paintings of Venus again dominated the sale, such as Simon Vouet's (1590-1649) painting of Venus and Adonis; <sup>263</sup> , and another example of Venus and Cupid by Gillaume Courtois, <sup>264</sup> really indicates that the acquirement of French paintings was very low indeed during this early period due to the prohibition of imports from France during most of the century.

#### SUMMARY

Once again comparing mythological history painting with mythological figures what is noticeable is that Northern painting acquired themes from Italian sources and there must have been a good deal of sharing of art knowledge through prints after famous older masters. There was a high propensity to collect pictures of Venus and Cupid, or Venus and Adonis classical subjects which tended towards the adornment of nature in the grand Mannerist mode, rather than the naturalistic representation characteristic of seventeenth century Dutch painting.

#### 4.10.0 Mythological Figures

The frequency distribution in Table 3 demonstrated that there were very low frequencies in numbers for all countries, for mythological figures. However, the highest frequencies were represented by French (3 paintings; that is, 7.7 per cent of French total), Italian (3.7 per cent of Italian total) and Venetian (1 painting, that is, 2.3 per cent of Venetian total) paintings. The most

frequently represented paintings in English collections for the period 1689-1694 included: a single painting entitled Lucretia by Courtois;<sup>265</sup> a painting of Andromeda after Titian;<sup>266</sup> Mars and Venus by Carracci;<sup>267</sup> and a painting of Orpheus by an unknown artist called "Old Castala"<sup>268</sup> were <sup>among</sup> the most frequently mentioned paintings of mythological figures acquired by English collectors during the period 1689-1694.

#### 4.11.0 Still life

The frequency distribution in Table 3 above demonstrates that seventeenth-century Dutch still life paintings dominated auction sales during the period 1689-1694, followed by Flemish still life, and very small frequencies for all other countries. However, Table 4 indicates that still life painting by Dutch artists working in England were only marginally higher (at 14.0 percent of all Dutch paintings) than still life paintings by Dutch masters working in Holland (12.3 percent), which had been acquired by English collectors abroad. There is a noticeable difference, however, in regard to Flemish still life paintings, where the majority (11.7 percent of all Flemish paintings) were painted by Flemish artists abroad, compared to a small minority (4.7 percent) of still life paintings produced by Flemish artists in England.

The sales catalogues indicate that the principal Dutch artists working in England were James Bogdany (a Hungarian by birth) who worked first in Holland for the Dutch court, and after 1689, was especially invited to England by William and Mary as a court painter.<sup>269</sup> There were also paintings in catalogues of the period by such artists as Pieter van Roestraten<sup>270</sup> and the little known artist Jacobus Stellingwerff, (who was listed as "Jo Steelingwarf")<sup>271</sup> and also a painting by John Stevens, an artist of Dutch descent who died in London in 1722.<sup>272</sup> The most frequently mentioned artists

were members of the Verelst family who specialized in paintings of fruit and flowers. The catalogues showed that paintings by Willem Verelst <sup>273</sup> and Simon Verelst (Antwerp 1637/40 - London 1710), <sup>274</sup> and his brother Herman (1641-1690/1700?), <sup>275</sup> were purchased by English collectors during the last quarter of the seventeenth century.

Sales catalogues for the period 1689-1694 indicate that the principal still life paintings acquired by an English audience were principally by Dutch artists producing paintings for the Dutch market and therefore one can assume that these works must have been purchased by English travellers abroad. These included still life paintings by William Klaasz Heda (Haarlem 1594 - after 1678), <sup>276</sup> whose paintings were held in high esteem and seem to be rare during this period. In a sale dated 15 June 1691, a note indicated that for a A still life by Heda, the bidding was to commence at £5.0.0 and although this does not appear to have been an exceptionally high figure, such entries were rare and therefore one can assume that the latter painting was considered to have been an exceptional piece. The sales indicate that paintings of fruit and still life pieces by Jan Davidsz de Heem (1600-1674), <sup>277</sup> were available in higher frequencies than works Heda. A single painting entitled Dead birds painted by "Van Veen" (probably by Rochus van Veen (who flourished in the mid-seventeenth century), appeared in a sale on 12 July 1689. <sup>278</sup> Apart from these better known masters the sales catalogues also listed a small number of still life paintings by artists whose names are less familiar, and these included paintings by "Van der Meer" (probably Barend or Bernard Van der Meer, c. 1659 - ?); <sup>279</sup> "Bonecroy" (probably Bonnecroy, working in The Hague in the 1650's to 1670's) <sup>280</sup> and lastly still life paintings by an anonymous artist called van Hatten, <sup>281</sup> whose oeuvre included vanitas, china objects, glassware and seafood. There were higher frequencies of paintings by this latter artist in the sales, while



paintings by highly considered still life artists notably Pieter and Willem Heda, Jan Davidsz. de Heem and Willem Kalf (1619-1693), appear to have been extremely rare in English collections during the last quarter of the century as indicated by the sampling of sales catalogues.

#### 4.11.1 Flemish Painters of Still Life

The majority of Flemish still life paintings in English collections were by artists working in Flanders during the seventeenth century, and these works were probably acquired by English collectors and dealers travelling in the Low Countries during the peaceful alliance after 1674.

Bird and flower paintings by Jan Breugel (1568-1625).<sup>202</sup> were well represented in the sales catalogues and the evidence suggests that paintings by this artist were well known and highly prized. A single painting of an untitled still life by an artist "Van Balen" (probably Jan or Hendrick van Balen),<sup>203</sup> also appeared in auction sales in the 1690s.

In a sale dated 3 April 1690 a painting of a fruit piece by an unknown artist called "Everbrodt" was listed in the catalogue.<sup>204</sup> This artist was probably Frans van Everbroeck, a painter from Antwerp, and the master of the noteworthy still life artist Jan van Son (Zon) (1622-1667). A painting entitled Fruit and a monkey by the meritorious Joannes Fijt (1611-1661)<sup>205</sup> was probably an elaborate production so characteristic of Flemish still life painting, rather than the simple and controlled performances of Dutch still life paintings which can be observed in Pieter Claez Heda's early period.

Flower paintings appear to be the chef oeuvre of a relatively unknown artist "Gillemeau" who could be still life artist Jan Paul Gillemans who was born in Antwerp in 1650 and after a trip to Paris

moved to Amsterdam in 1713 where he died in 1742.<sup>295</sup>

In a sale dated 24 September 1690 an interesting painting by Willem de Keyser II (Antwerp 1647 - London c. 1697) entitled still life with a lobster was listed.<sup>297</sup> Paintings of fruit and animals by Frans Snijders (1592-1657) were listed in the sales catalogues.<sup>298</sup> Snijders had been associated with Rubens, and the Antwerp style of producing magnificent and elaborate still life pieces which influenced the development of still life in Holland, particularly the work of Jan Davidsz de Heem.

A single painting of fruit and flowers in the sales catalogues was probably the work of Jan van Son (The Elder) (1622-1667) or his son (Jan van Son) who was born in Antwerp in 1650 but died in London in 1700.<sup>299</sup> This latter artist is said to have resided in England in his youth, and since he married the niece of Robert Streater, Sergeant painter to the King, acquired a number of patrons through this association.

Lastly, an unidentified artist called "Willebeck" appears to have had a fairly active turnover in the sales of the period.<sup>300</sup> This artist was probably a minor artist, Willebeeck, a painter of fruit and flowers who was working in Antwerp in the years 1632-1646.

#### 4.11.2 Italian Painters of Still Life

The most famous Italian painter of fruit and flower pieces appears to have been Michelangelo de Campidoglio (1610-1670).<sup>301</sup> In the early years of the eighteenth century Jonathon Richardson (1715) awarded the highest merit to still life pieces by Campidoglio while ignoring meritorious Dutch and Flemish masters, who were equally skilled in this genre.<sup>302</sup> However, the reason for this preference might have been due to the fact that paintings by Italian still life artists were already rare even in the last quarter of the seventeenth

century. For example, only a single painting of fruit by Campidoglio was recorded in the sample of sales for the period 1689-1694.

Flower paintings by Mario Nuzzi (1603-1673) called Mario de Fiori also appeared in sales of the period, but they were generally rare in collections of the period.<sup>293</sup> A sale of Mr. Smith's pictures at his house in Covent Garden on 24 September 1690 included a fruit piece by an unidentified artist called Castro who could have been Pedro de Castro, a still life artist who died in 1663.<sup>294</sup> However, Thieme-Becker listed other artists by the name of Castro - one of them was L. Castro, a genre painter. In addition, the Cartwright Collection (at Dulwich College) listed as many as ten paintings by a master of seascapes called "Castro" but it is not known if this artist is related to the one above.

#### 4.11.3 French Still Life Painters

Paintings by principal French still life artists rarely appeared in English collections in the sixteen-nineties. There was small numbers of paintings by Jean Boulanger (1566-1660),<sup>295</sup> a painter of flower pieces in the sale catalogues. Paintings by the famous flower painter, Jean-Baptiste Monnoyer (Paris 1634 - London 1677), were quite rare in the sales catalogues of this period. However, the earliest sales of prints and paintings held on 31 May 1689 indicated that collectors probably first acquired a knowledge of Monnoyer's work through the sale of prints <sup>296</sup> which appeared in the earliest sales in 1689.

#### 4.11.4 British Still Life Painters

The sales catalogues show low frequencies for still life paintings by British artists, and there were a few examples in English collections. These included two paintings of flowers by the

decorative artist Henry Cook (1642-1706),<sup>297</sup> and another example of a fruit piece by an unidentified artist called "Smart" which was listed in a sale on 23 March 1693.<sup>298</sup>

#### SUMMARY OF STILL LIFE PAINTING

Still life paintings of fruit and flowers appear to have been very popular in English collections during the early period of auction sales in England. The highest frequencies were for seventeenth century Dutch still life followed by Flemish works. It is very difficult to judge the relative popularity for the two types of still life, that is the decorative Baroque mode of the Flemish masters versus the simple naturalism in the mode of Heda or de Heem, but this survey indicates that the highly acclaimed and older seventeenth century artist were already rare in auction sales by the 1690s. The same conclusions can be made in regard to the works of the noteworthy Italian still life painter Campidoglio and the French master Monnoyer, but whether this situation changed during the eighteenth century will be examined in Chapter six.

#### 4.12.0 Seascapes

The sales catalogues demonstrated that most English collectors acquired seascapes by seventeenth-century Dutch artists. The frequency distribution in Table 3 indicates that there were slightly more seascapes produced by Dutch artists working in England, but the row percentages in Table 4 indicate that the differences for those working in England and abroad are not significantly different. On the other hand, the row percentages in Table 3 indicates that there were higher frequencies for paintings by Flemish seascapists in England than abroad.

#### 4.12.1 Dutch Seascape Artists

The principal seascape paintings in the sales catalogues appear to have been produced by seventeenth-century contemporaries of the collectors. The highest frequencies, however, were naturally the paintings of Dutch seascape artists working in England for English patrons.

For historical reasons paintings by Ludolf Backhuizen (1631-1708) were greatly admired, but it appears that original paintings by this artist were relatively rare, as there were only two listed in the sample.<sup>299</sup> However, after 1695 the sales catalogues show higher frequencies of copies by Jan Griffier of Backhuizen originals,<sup>300</sup> and three more paintings by a disciple after Backhuizen.<sup>301</sup>

Since these copies appeared in the same sale as two originals, one would expect that such competition in the market place would have had the effect of lowering the price of originals. However, the function of the copies after originals enabled collectors to study various "hands" and often the knowledge about masters of merit could be diffused through copies after originals. It might be suggested here that if a collector desired an original Backhuizen but could not purchase one, either because they rarely appeared on the market, or were too expensive, then, he could at least afford to buy a copy after an original by Griffier or some other minor artist.

The most frequently represented seascape artists in the sales catalogues were Willem van de Velde, the elder, (Leyden 1610 - London 1693),<sup>302</sup> and his son (1633- London 1707).<sup>303</sup> It was sometimes difficult to determine whether paintings were by the senior or junior Van de Velde, however, most of the twenty-four paintings appearing in sales throughout the period 1689-1694 were consistently by Van de Velde the younger. The subjects were varied and included scenes of English ports or sea havens, notably,

A view of Portsmouth, Ships on fire, Ships in storms, and A view of Barbadoes which were no doubt appreciated for attention to descriptive realism and historical value since they depicted a township or harbour as it appeared at that particular time.<sup>204</sup>

On the other hand, the works of the Flemish artist Jan Porcellis (or Porcelles, 1584-1632), and his son Julius (1605-1645)<sup>205</sup> working in Rotterdam and London appear in higher frequencies in English collections during the early period (1689-1694). The subjects were mainly seascapes and sea storms. In addition, there were also a number of minor artists whose paintings appeared in the sales. These included paintings by an artist called "Antonius" who can be identified as Hendrick van Anthonissen, a Dutch marine painter working in the mid-seventeenth century.<sup>206</sup> A sale on 15th June 1691 recorded a single seascape by "van Beek", probably the seascape artist Jan Karel Donatus van Beecq (1638-1722)<sup>207</sup> who was living in Paris after 1681, but returned to Holland where he died in the early part of the eighteenth century. In the same sale there were three seascapes by an unidentified artist called "van Breen";<sup>208</sup> paintings of seaports in the Straits and a prospect of Hadilem in the Middle East were painted by "Leonard"<sup>209</sup> whom the Ogdens identified as Leonard Knyff. English collections also contained seascapes by Pieter van der Meulen,<sup>210</sup> and Cornelis Pietersz de Mooy,<sup>211</sup> a specialist of seascapes and moonlight seascapes. There were also a number of seascapes by unidentified artists such as "van der Squire"<sup>212</sup> and another listed simply as "v. Suile" [probably Van Suile] were probably minor Dutch seascape specialists of the period.<sup>213</sup>

#### 4.12.2 Flemish Seascape Artists

There were only three principal Flemish seascapists represented in sales catalogues. These included seascapes by Andries van Artvelt (1590-1652),<sup>214</sup> Bonaventura Peeters (or Pieters, 1614-1652),<sup>215</sup> and Isaac Sailmaker (working in England during the Interregnum).<sup>216</sup> The highest frequency was for the works of Isaac Sailmaker (or Sailmaker) who was employed by Cromwell to sketch views of the fleet before Mardyke.<sup>217</sup> The propensity to collect paintings by this little known artist is reflected by the variety of seascapes in the sales catalogues. These included paintings entitled A calm, A seastorm, Dutch and English (ships), A man-o'-war in a gale, a prospect of Antwerp, Isle of Wight, a prospect of Sheerness, and a number of paintings of ports and havens.

The sales catalogues listed three paintings by an artist called "Castro". One of these paintings was entitled A seaport, another A fruit piece (probably by Pedro de Castro, a still life painter), and the third painting was A nude.<sup>218</sup>

The only clue to the identity of Castro the seascape artist came from the Cartwright Collection (1689) at Dulwich College, which listed as many as ten seascape paintings by Castro, who has been identified by Giles Waterfield (1987) as Lorenzo de Castro or Laureys a Castro, an artist of Spanish descent who trained in Antwerp.<sup>219</sup> On the basis of this evidence it is possible that the latter artist was the author of a Seaport listed for sale in May 1689 .

English collectors acquired a small number of seascapes by native British artists which included an unidentified artist called "Bryen",<sup>220</sup> and "Old Pearce"<sup>221</sup> probably Edward Pierce (died 1658) one of the British artists working during the Interregnum - a period when there was less foreign competition. Two paintings of seaports by the little known artist listed as "Wagener" <sup>222</sup> was probably

the artist Waggoner, who according to Thieme-Becker and Horace Walpole specialized in panoramas, and contemporary historical events.

#### SUMMARY OF SEASCAPES

The most interesting feature of this analysis is that although there were a few paintings by the older Dutch masters notably Backhuizen and Porcellis, there were also many copies of these latter masters. There was a high propensity by English collectors for the acquisition of paintings by the Van de Velde's (father and son) which were among the most frequently represented in the sales catalogues for the entire period.

Seascapes by a few Flemish masters such as Bona Ventura, Pieters, Isaac Salemaker and Castro were among the most frequently collected paintings. In England there was also a small patronage of native British masters of seascape whose paintings were undoubtedly inspired by the large number of Dutch and Flemish models which were available in England during the middle of the seventeenth century.

#### 4.13.0 A Note Concerning rarity of Paintings in English Collections

##### 1689-1694

Since this random selection of sales for the period 1689-1694 measures the frequency of any one artist's work within the sales of the period, the above analysis can be regarded as an indication of the popularity of an artist's work amongst collectors, and how demand is related to prolific production of copies from original and genuine pieces which had already been acclaimed as masters of great merit. However, it has always been the case that original and genuine works by the most meritorious old masters are limited in number, and therefore these paintings rarely appeared in auction sales. This situation encouraged the production of copies after



noteworthy masters along with engravings after the originals. Numerous examples can be quoted from the sales catalogues in the sample, but one such example was provided by Vertue's notes <sup>323</sup> which indicated that John Smith produced engravings after Wijnants in the early 1700's. In another example in 1745 Arthur Pond is known to have published engravings after Aert van der Neer, Teniers and Poussin.<sup>324</sup>

Changes in the taste for collecting naturally occurred over time. Artists whose paintings had been appreciated and collected during their own lifetime were gradually forgotten, as newer contemporaries replaced them. For example, the Ogdens (1955) noted that landscape painters who worked in England before the Revolution were not well known after the Restoration.<sup>325</sup> Such early Stuart artists as Adriaen van Stalbert, Alexander Keirincx, and Frans Wouters did not maintain their vogue.<sup>326</sup> On the other hand, the Ogdens noted that artists who worked in England after the Restoration were far more numerous and far better known.<sup>327</sup> This must have been partly due to an increased propensity to acquire paintings which attended a growth in the arts during Charles II's reign. However, the sales catalogues indicate that higher frequencies of paintings by seventeenth-century Dutch artists working in England. It is important to note here that the work of seventeenth century Dutch artists were collected in higher frequencies than the work of British natives in terms of sheer numbers. This situation does not seem to have changed after 1695 when even more paintings from wider geographic sources suddenly became available in competition with native artists and immigrant Dutch and Flemish artists working in London. This competition naturally forced artists to copy the works of popular old masters whose paintings were in great demand by collectors.

The sale catalogues and inventories indicate that the production of painting was more numerous and served wider social groups than ever

before, heralding the beginning of a domestic art market in England. Public sales beginning in 1689 no doubt brought greater public awareness of contemporary and earlier seventeenth-century works. However, sales of old master paintings must have competed drastically with contemporary production by native artists. The evidence suggests that paintings purchased at auction sales were often considerably cheaper than commissioned works by contemporary artists.<sup>328</sup> Furthermore, when imports from abroad were permitted directly for public sale (in 1695), this appears to have coincided with the eventual decline of foreign artists, Flemish and Dutch working in England in large numbers.

The rise in popularity of contemporary Dutch and Flemish artists in England is due in part to the versatility and ability to copy the works of meritorious Italian masters. If collectors found it difficult to purchase Italian landscapes by highly acclaimed artists like Salvator Rosa, they could enjoy instead the works of Henry Prosper Lankrink (1628-1692) and Jan Griffier (1645-1718), or paintings by the native artist Henry Cooke (1642-1700) in an Italianate style after Rosa; or instead of northern Dutch landscape after the rare Ruisdael or van Goyen, and they could also purchase naturalistic scene by Dutch contemporaries in England, Jan Loten or Gerard Edema.<sup>329</sup>

Since importation of paintings was restricted to private use until 1694, it is not surprising that the sales held in the years 1689-1694 show a large number of paintings by Dutch and Flemish artists working in England; and similarly there were almost equal numbers of paintings by masters from Holland. The majority of these however, were paintings by minor artists. Furthermore it appears from the sales that the most exemplary contemporary Dutch works were rare until after 1695. Paintings by Jan Weenex, father and son,

rarely appeared in the sales until after 1695, and paintings by Ruisdael, Hobbema, de Koninck and Albert Cuyp did not appear in sales until the first quarter of the eighteenth century.<sup>320</sup> The earliest sales indicate that collectors were familiar with works of merit through books, prints and drawings after the older masters. A sale of prints and paintings on 31 May 1689 listed landscapes by Rembrandt, Anthonie Westerloo, Van Goyen and Hercules Seghers. This production of prints and engravings after rare and highly acclaimed masters of the sixteenth and seventeenth century continued into the eighteenth century. It was a means by which contemporary artists like John Smith, Arthur Pond, George Knaption and others could compete in a fluctuating market.<sup>321</sup> Competition from abroad continued in the sale of contemporary and old master paintings, which must have competed drastically with contemporary productions. The demand for portraits by contemporary artists continued to be in fashion and as a result the livelihood of contemporary native artists was jeopardised by the importation of Dutch and Italian landscape paintings from abroad for public sale, which had slowly increased from the beginning of the seventeenth century. This study underlines the fact that competitive influences from abroad threatened the domestic production of painting particularly after 1694 when paintings could now be imported directly for public sale. It was this competition which appears to have prevented the effective rise of an English school of painting until the middle of the eighteenth century.<sup>322</sup>

#### 5.14.0 A SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS

Analysis of sales catalogues for the period 1689-1694 demonstrates the extent to which English collecting as an activity had been restricted by Continental wars and import restrictions. It was shown in earlier chapters that the interdiction of religious subject

matter, ( but particularly icons and altar pieces) during the Civil War period seems to have affected the type of art available so that only small frequencies of mythological histories and religious paintings were available to English collectors. Customs laws preventing the importation of paintings from abroad for public sale were intended to protect the native British artist and landed immigrants from outside competition. Continental wars which continued throughout most of the seventeenth century restricted travel abroad and the collecting of works of art in general. This factor, along with protection for the domestic producers of paintings, necessarily forced patrons and collectors of paintings to buy contemporary works by masters working in England. Generally speaking Puritan objection to religious subject matter placed a greater emphasis on the acquisition of secular subjects found in Dutch painting. The political alliance which followed after the Peace of 1672 encouraged Dutch artists to immigrate to England in search of work, and brought about cultural exchange in science and philosophy. Diplomatic relations were restored which enabled English scholars to resume their studies at the famous University of Leyden; trade and travel to and from Holland appear to have increased and this activity enabled paintings by Dutch masters to be purchased in Holland and hence imported into England for private use and enjoyment.

It is not surprising therefore to find that the highest frequency in actual numbers was for the production of paintings by Dutch masters working in England, and then paintings by Dutch masters working in Holland which English collectors must have acquired while travelling and working in Holland during times of peace after 1672.

There were almost twice as many Dutch paintings as Flemish (540 Dutch paintings total in the sample compared with 274 Flemish paintings, see Tables 3 and 4 and Appendix Table I). Dutch painting

displayed a wider variety of secular subject matter, and the highest frequencies were for landscapes, portraiture, genre and droll paintings, still life subjects, seascapes. Traditionally, iconoclasm had restricted the production of religious and mythological histories in both Holland and England, as explained briefly in the introduction to chapter four and therefore it was not surprising to find lower frequencies generally for the collecting of these latter subjects in English collections. However, the evidence suggests that in Holland during the last quarter of the seventeenth century, a renewed interest in classical painting from Italy and the influence of the classicist doctrine from the French Royal Academy<sup>222</sup>, led to a small production of mythological histories and figures of saints for a restricted upper class clientele. The principal exponents of this late period was the classical theorist Gerard de Lairese, and Adriaen van der Werff whose works were among the most expensive during the period and were both rare and highly regarded by English collectors in the eighteenth century.

This small Dutch production of religious and mythological histories both in England and Holland is confirmed again by the frequencies of paintings by Flemish artists. The frequency distribution shows higher total frequencies in numbers for Flemish artists working abroad than in England. Flemish artists working in England were the highest producers of portraits. These were represented by a few of the most outstanding masters, Sir Peter Paul Rubens and Sir Anthony Van Dyck and the many followers who copied their works. Flemish landscapes were generally produced abroad and imported into England, while on the other hand Dutch artists working in England were the chief producers of landscapes.

It is interesting that the production of biblical figures according to the statistical analysis was mostly by Flemish artists

working in England. This is important since it confirms that although the use of icons and paintings suitable for private chapels and altars had been banned, there must have been a small but increased demand for the acquisition of religious paintings of biblical figures and histories particularly originals and copies after Renaissance and sixteenth century old masters. It is only natural that Flemish artists would have been the principal painters of religious figures and histories since they were carrying on a tradition of religious painting which had continued uninterrupted for centuries. In Holland on the other hand, the division between Flanders and the States General in 1576 was not only political but religious. Iconoclasm (as already explained in chapters one and three), resulted in a decline in the production of grand Mannerist paintings of biblical figures and religious histories in favour of religious stories in the guise of daily life. In addition the tables indicate that there was a small but increasing propensity for the acquisition of religious and classical histories which English collectors probably purchased while travelling abroad in Holland or Flanders.

The production of drolls and low life painting was lower in frequency generally than history painting, and was principally represented by the work of Breugel and Teniers among other Flemish artists whose work was acquired by English collectors while abroad. The reverse occurred in the case of Dutch painting where there was a high propensity for the acquisition of drolls by low life painters living and working in England, which is interesting because it appears to have paralleled the production of Restoration comedy and satire. The supply of droll painting seems to have been exclusive to Dutch painters working both in England, and in Holland but there were smaller numbers of droll paintings by Flemish artists which English collectors probably acquired abroad. In England, the work of two

frequently mentioned in sale catalogues during the last quarter of the seventeenth century.

The total frequencies by subject matter for all other countries in the sample (French, Venetian generally and Italian and German painting) were generally very low indeed. Most of these paintings, but more especially the Italian and Venetian paintings in the sample, came from the sale of collections of General Dousfield and Prince Ludovico which took place on 22-23 January 1692/3 and the collection of James Palmer and Cardinal Antonio Barberini which had recently arrived from abroad.

Although there were some secular subjects painted by Venetian, Italian, German and French painters of landscapes and portraits, the frequencies in actual numbers were very low. The greatest interest was for the acquisition of biblical histories and mythological subjects from Italy and Venice. The chief Italian artists were: Raphael d'Urbino, Luca Giordano, Jacopo Parmensis, Guilio Romano, and Salvator Rosa. These paintings were mainly the performances of late sixteenth century and early seventeenth century masters who were probably the contemporaries of the collectors. At the very least it seems that there was a high propensity to collect the work of foreign artists which was roughly contemporary with the collector and could therefore be acquired with greater ease and at less expense than rare masters of the previous century.

In concluding, the analysis of the sales catalogues gives a representative view of the composition of English collections during the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Seventeenth-century Dutch painting dominated the sales during the period before 1695 and most of the works were by contemporaries of the period some of whom were working in England for English patrons. Political unrest abroad seems

to have been the main reason why Italian, Venetian and French art was collected in such small numbers, however, the evidence suggests that there was a nascent but growing interest in Italian and Venetian painting.

When Dr. Waagen surveyed the history of collecting in England he observed that, paintings of merit, by the most famous Italian and German old masters were extremely rare even as early as the eighteenth century. Waagen noted at the same time that there had been an interest in the acquisition of original works of seventeenth century Dutch masters. This observation has been confirmed by this study. Another interesting discovery is that this research demonstrates that even as early as the mid seventeenth century, there were already many copies after originals by Van Dyck, Lely, and Italian and Venetian sixteenth-century masters - Titian, Tintoretto, Guido Reni and Raphael d'Urbino. However, Waagen did not account for the numbers of seventeenth and eighteenth century Italian originals which were being collected by contemporaries in England. As early as 1685 the pioneer art theorist William Aglionby in his book "Painting illustrated in three Dialogues", encouraged English collectors to purchase Italian painting, and praised, not only to the most famous masters of the High Renaissance, Michelangelo and Raphael, but he also recommended the work of Leonardo da Vinci. He included important masters after da Vinci: Giorgione, Caravaggio, Andrea del Sarto, Raphael d'Urbino, Antonio di Corregio, Parmigianino, Polidoro, Giulio Romano, Perino del Vaga, the Caracci's of Bologna, imitators of Guido Reni, and Domenichino. Other meritorious artists mentioned by Aglionby included: Titian, Tintoretto, Paul Veronese, and the Bassano's. Of visitors to Italy he praised Albert Durer and Holbein, Rubens, Van Dyck and Poussin. Most of the latter artists were listed in Charles I's exemplary collection and the majority of these names appear in



the sales catalogues of the late seventeenth century, but apart from the Italian, Venetian and Flemish artists listed above, Aglionby did not mention a single Dutch master.

The sales catalogues indicate that while seventeenth century Dutch painting was the most prevalent kind of art available to English collectors, paintings by the most meritorious Dutch masters rarely appeared in the sales during this early period. This suggests that patterns of collecting changed over time as one group of artists died out and became rare, to be replaced by contemporary artists which appeared in collections and in sales of the following period . An analysis and correlation of the patterns of collecting in chapter five with the results in chapter six, shows that after 1695 there was a considerable broadening of the variety of paintings available in auction sales which enabled at the same time a greater diffusion of knowledge about European paintings from varying time periods. An examination of post-1695 sales catalogues indicates a general broadening of the market to include more paintings by meritorious Dutch masters such as Jan Weenix, Jacob Ochtervelt, Jan Miense Molinaer, Pieter Molijn, Egbert van der Poel, Michel Carre and many others. Before this time, laws prohibiting the importation of paintings for public sale seems to have given a great deal of weighting to the work of a relatively small number of Dutch artists who were living and working in England from about the 1670's to the turn of the century, but this situation gradually changed in favour of rarer and older seventeenth century Dutch works, and higher frequencies generally for Italian, Venetian and French paintings, which were also being imported during the course of the eighteenth century.

## C H A P T E R F I V E

### A STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF SALE CATALOGUES

#### SECTION II : 1695 - 1760.

How many then are the disadvantages  
to which a valuable picture is exposed to public sale?  
it must struggle with envy, malice and ignorance - ...<sup>1</sup>

##### 5.0.0. Introduction.

The findings in the previous chapter demonstrated that the majority of paintings bought by English collectors were by seventeenth century Dutch artists. About half of these paintings were by Dutch artists who had been living and working in England from about 1660 onwards. This propensity to collect Dutch painting was undoubtedly due to the fact that after 1674 England and Holland entered into a political alliance against French aggression, and this situation naturally encouraged the acquisition of Dutch painting by English travellers and diplomatic personnel stationed in Holland. The evidence from Chapter three suggests that the composition of English collections tended to mirror the kind of paintings being produced in Holland and the majority of paintings were secular but there were a few religious paintings displaying themes from the parables and figures of saints, probably the kinds of subjects which had been modified by Reformation thought to suit protestant patrons.<sup>2</sup>

On the other hand the low frequencies for the acquisition of paintings from all other countries shows how political and fiscal policies affected the acquisition of paintings. Continental wars interrupted trade and travel for most of the century; the interdictment of religious images (during the period of the Civil War)

and the injunction against the importation of paintings for public sale affected the kind of painting which was acquired and thus limited the market to paintings purchased for private use which were imported from Holland in addition to paintings produced by Dutch artists living and working in England.

The effects of the 1695 law which first permitted paintings to be imported for public sale will be examined using detailed statistical analysis for the period 1711 to 1759, to show how changes in fiscal policy affected the taste for collecting paintings in England. It is only natural that patterns of collecting changed over the period, but the 1695 law and particularly the peaceful resolutions to conflicts abroad after 1714, appear to have had a marked effect on collecting as a whole. After 1695 and more readily after 1714, collectors were able to purchase religious and classical mythological history painting by Italian and Venetian masters; French landscapes of Italian classical inspiration were popular as were Venetian veduti by Canaletto; and the period witnessed a growth in genre painting. There was an increased propensity for the acquisition of Rococo fantasies by Watteau which seems to have coincided with French trade from 1714 to about 1742 when the War of Austrian Succession reduced the supply of paintings from France. Collecting was also marked by an increased interest in the collecting of Dutch genre painting notably finely executed works by some of the most exemplary seventeenth century Dutch flinschilders, Gerard Dou, Frans Mieris, and Jacob Ochtervelt. On the other hand this rise in interest in elegant genre seems to have been accompanied by a marked decline in the acquisition of seventeenth century Dutch low-life painting which suggests that this kind of painting was no longer being produced and was no longer in vogue amongst collectors. This indicates that the attempts to censor low-life and its parallel Restoration comedy, seems to have

affected the demand for this genre so that by the end of the seventeenth century the market for low-life painting had rapidly declined.

The aim of this chapter is to examine how changes in customs laws affected the trade in paintings which gave collectors the opportunity to collect paintings from a wider variety of sources, but more particularly to determine how Dutch painting competed with Flemish, Italian, French and German paintings given the fact that each kind of painting had an equal chance of being selected by collectors.

(1) Using auction sales as a vehicle for exploring the composition of collections covering the period 1695 to 1760, this study will demonstrate the way in which political conditions abroad - a peaceful resolution to the conflict with France (after 1714), and new trade agreements enabled paintings to be collected from a wider geographic sphere than ever before.

(2) Of particular importance to this thesis is the effect that these changes had on the collecting of seventeenth century Dutch painting in England, specifically, the extent to which paintings from other European countries competed with Dutch painting on the art market during the period 1695 to 1760. This discussion will include at the same time the changes in attitudes towards subject matter which occurred over this period .

(3) An examination of prices paid for paintings in the sale room will be subject to a detailed analysis to determine whether low prices for seventeenth century Dutch painting as stated by Buchanan (1824) was the main incentive for collecting Dutch painting. An attempt to determine whether low prices assisted the so-called vertical diffusion of Dutch painting to lower income groups (that is, from aristocrats to professional "middling" classes), will form part of this examination. However, since the records kept by the Houldtich

father and son did not always record the names of collectors purchasing paintings at auction sales, therefore, only tentative conclusions could be reached concerning the vertical diffusion of paintings. Often only a surname was recorded which was insufficient to ascertain the exact identity of the collector from biographical sources. However, an examination of the random sample and a summary of prices paid for paintings for each country, (see appendix) will enable certain generalizations to be made concerning the acquisition of paintings for different social class groups.

In addition to an examination of the sales catalogues of the period, inventories and personal observations of contemporaries along with art theories will be used to provide interesting additional information in support of sales-room findings.

#### 5.1.0. The Importation of Paintings for Public Sale after 1694

The parameters used to divide this analysis were conveniently set firstly, by the customs law which came into effect in 1695 permitting paintings to be imported directly for public sale;<sup>3</sup> and secondly, by a set of manuscript sales catalogues collected by Richard Houlditch father and son, for the period 1711 to 1759 <sup>4</sup>.

The period 1695 to 1710 represents the opening of the market to paintings from abroad during a period of transition when the art market appeared to be in a slump. On the other hand, the period after 1711 but more particularly after the Triple Alliance and peace with France in 1714, seems to have coincided with a gradual improvement in both imports of paintings from abroad and in the number of auction sales held in London.

### 5.1.1. AUCTION SALES AFTER 1695

#### Some Important Issues Concerning Price Paid for Paintings at Auction Sales.

Although the beginning of the art market in 1689 gave way to an unprecedented boom in the sale of paintings already in English collections, this ~~flourant~~ <sup>flourant</sup> market was a short lived event.<sup>5</sup> Beginning in 1689 and continuing for about 3 years, the art market reached a peak in 1691 but began a rapid decline about a year later. The reasons for the slump have been outlined previously, but briefly again, in a letter from Sir Charles Hatton to an unknown correspondent dated Jan 28th. 1691/2 the former noted that a fall in prices for Lely's paintings illustrated the effect of competition between original paintings from highly acclaimed collections such as the Duke of Portland's with paintings of doubtful provenance.<sup>6</sup> Collectors learnt that there was a high degree of correlation between authenticity and high prices attained at auction sales. Auction sales brought together paintings from varied sources which competed in terms of price, in which the highest prices depended strictly on provenance. In this particular case, the evidence from a sample of the British Library's sales catalogues in the previous chapter, indicated that part of the reason for the decline in prices was due to the fact that the market was flooded with numerous copies after the most meritorious court painters of the period, particularly copies after van Dyck, Lely and Kneller.<sup>7</sup> The effect on the art market seems to have been to lower the values paid even for original paintings, so that as the market became flooded with copies during the boom period, forcing serious collectors like Hatton to withdraw from the market. This situation appears to have had a marked effect on the prices reached in the sale room during the eighteenth century.

Another reason for the low prices at auctions during the early

period was noted by the unknown author of the sale catalogue for Monsieur Desenfans' second sale of outstanding masters which took place on Saturday 8th. April, 1786. It was characteristic of the period, particularly in the case of noteworthy collections to introduce the reader to the list of paintings enclosed, by beginning

with a grand encomium on the benefits of collecting paintings:

How many then are the disadvantages to which a valuable picture is exposed to public sale ? it must struggle with envy, malice and ignorance - with the dealer whose interest often leads him to depreciate what is not his own - with the parsimonious collector who, while he wishes ardently to possess a picture, runs it down with the view of buying it at a cheaper rate, and lastly, with the mere bunglers in the art, who, being incapable of merit in themselves will suffer none in any other pencil than their own.<sup>9</sup>

These factors are important to keep in mind in the examination which follows but there are also a few additional issues which affected the prices paid in general for paintings at auction sales. For instance, although there were quality paintings in England from the late seventeenth century on, the prices achieved at auctions sales were generally low and they appear to have been below market value, because there were so few competitors in the market place.<sup>10</sup> The latter writer implied that low prices were due to a lack of knowledge about painting rather than a lack of disposable income amongst an audience with the potential to acquire paintings at auction sales.<sup>10</sup>

By 1694 auction sales were at a very low ebb indeed, and the implementation of the 1695 law did not correct the situation. A perusal of Fritz Lugt's listing of sales facilitated a study of the frequency of auction sales held during the period and enabled the researcher to correlate this information with customs data so that general assumptions could be made about the periods of growth and decline in the art market. Although Lugt's catalogue of sales is by no means a complete listing of all of the auction sales held in England during the period of this study, it is comprehensive enough

as a survey to indicate general trends.<sup>11</sup> After the slump in 1694, there appear to have been small but noticeable improvements in the art trade, but this seemed to level off at about two sales per year, on the average (that is, a total of twenty-four sales for the period 1701 to 1714). More importantly however, it appears that the content of paintings in auctions had broadened, in which there was now a greater variety of paintings than ever before. There were larger number of paintings by Continental artists including Dutch masters whose works were previously unknown at auction sales in the beginning of the boom in sales in 1689.

In Chapter Four, a detailed examination of paintings in a single sales catalogue dated the 4th. May, 1699 demonstrated that there had been a broadening in the composition of paintings available in auction sales as a result of a change in the 1695 Customs Law which first permitted paintings to be imported for public sale. Customs records in the Appendix to Chapter Three indicate that in 1697 Holland was the major supplier of paintings, with Italy joining the market next, followed by France after 1714 when peace was resumed.

Referring back to the debate concerning the conflict over subject matter - low-life comedy and satire, versus 'high-brow' religious and classical history, the last chapter briefly noted that there had been a propensity to collect low-life paintings during the mid-century which seems to have paralleled Restoration comedy and satire. Naturally, there were some groups who regarded such displays as licentious and as a result low-life in the theatre and similar representations in painting appears to have been censured.

There is evidence if somewhat tentative that the most licentious works were in fact destroyed so that by the early eighteenth century there were fewer paintings of this subject matter appearing in auction sales. The chief objection to low-life painting was that it was



neither exemplary nor edifying in subject matter. At the same time, early eighteenth writers complained that religious and mythological history painting requiring a knowledge of iconography made it difficult for the uneducated to understand or appreciate it. This suggests that critics were aware of alternative choices in the form of genre paintings by seventeenth century Dutch masters and native English artists like Hogarth working in the tradition of Jan Steen and Heemskerck.

In the eighteenth century this conflict in interests appears to have continued. Vertue coined the term "waggish" to describe collectors who sponsored or collected the works of Heemskerck and the drolls of van Ostade, but despite this one can detect (through the writings of Reverend Lamotte for example), a growing tolerance for peasant scenes of Flemish masters Teniers and Breugel as well as drolls by Brouwer, van Ostade and family interiors by Jan Steen. In the eighteenth century a wider variety of religious paintings by Italian and Venetian artist were available and collectors were prepared to pay higher prices to acquire both originals and copies after famous masters.

The art theorist Gerard de Lairese writing in the last years of the seventeenth century was aware of the problems in producing original material from classical and religious sources. He noted that it was commonplace for artists to copy the old masters without being innovative. As a result Lairese suggested that artists could be original by observing and painting scenes from everyday life, showing accidents in the home, parental admonition, and so on - modern scenes to depict old themes from the parables, as one sees in the elegant works of Frans van Mieris. By the beginning of the eighteenth century the supply of Dutch paintings had in fact broadened to include elegant genre by exemplary masters which had been extremely rare in the

previous period. The appearance of this 'new' genre suggests that increased supply and the exposure which these works received at auction sales increased the demand which resulted in higher prices for the most sought after works. Genre paintings appeared more frequently in later sales and these included the works of Abraham Cornelis Bega, Nicolaes Drogersloote, Jan Miense Molinaer, and notably religious figures by Jan Rutgers van Nieuwaal; a painting entitled A music piece with a fool by Jacob Ochtervelt; paintings by Adriaen van Ostade; An old man writing by candlelight (a painting after) Godfried Schalken; and a painting entitled A beggar sleeping by Gerard ter Borch were some of the paintings described in the sales catalogues of the period, (see list in the appendix of this chapter).

Naturally, there were paintings of other subjects by artists whose previously little known works came to be recognized as a result of increased supply and demand during the course of the eighteenth century. Still life pieces by Pieter van der Meulen working in England in the 1670's and flower pieces by Gertrude Pietersz. working in Delft in the early eighteenth century; fruit pieces by Barend van der Meer (1659 - ? ) and by Johannes Pooch ( working in Amsterdam 1694) were collected ; landscapes by Pieter Molyn, Gerrit Berkheijde, Michiel Carre (1666 - 1728) and Alexander van Galen (1670-1728) along with the occasional piece by landscapists Jan Weenix (Jan Baptist, 1621-1660) and his son Jan (1640-1719). Most of these paintings were available for what can be considered to have been very low prices compared with Italian landscapes at auction sales during the period.<sup>12</sup>

### 5.1.2 The Importation Of Paintings - Inspector General's Records.

It has already been noted in Chapter Three that the earliest collecting records for the importation of paintings by country began in 1696 when increased trade brought about the creation of the Inspector General's office to provide annual summaries and reports of imports and exports. It will be recalled from Chapter 2 that prior to this date customs records were collected in a day to day account but not summarized. However a perusal of these reports for the year 1686 indicates that ships from Holland were arriving in London daily and some of these carried paintings and named the owner of the consignment.<sup>13</sup>

A review of the customs records for imports of paintings into England ( see graph in Appendix, Chapter Three) indicates that the chief supplier of paintings from 1696 to 1697 was Holland and there were no other competitors until a year later when imports of paintings from Italy appeared on the market.<sup>14</sup> An important consideration here is that from 1696 to 1721, paintings imported into England were taxed at 20% ad valorem and recorded as a total value in pounds. This situation changed after 1721 when the Brodericks Act came into effect in which duty was levied according to three standard sizes : small, medium and large.<sup>15</sup> This had the effect of encouraging the importation of more high quality works from abroad <sup>16</sup>

Referring back to Chapter Three concerning the imports of paintings into England from 1697 to 1760, it is necessary to turn to the graph in the appendix to observe the way in which imports of Dutch painting competed with Italian and French painting throughout the eighteenth century.

Turning to the graph in the Appendix to Chapter Three the customs data indicates that from 1697 onwards Italian painting became the chief competitor with Dutch paintings. For example in 1696

we know that about £250.00 worth of paintings and prints recorded together, were imported from Holland, but by the next year this amount had dropped to £38.00 worth in competition with the first recorded Italian shipment at just under £100.00 worth of paintings and prints, and so the competition continued in this way throughout the period. If one traces the fluctuations year by year it is obvious that in 1699 and again in 1700 for example, the importation of Italian paintings outstripped Dutch imports. In 1703 Holland beat Italian imports, in 1705 Italy exceeded Holland; again in 1708 Dutch imports of paintings were higher than Italian. Italian imports peaked ahead of Holland in 1712 and again in 1715 and 1719. In 1721 trade with Holland reached a climax at £850.00 only to be rivalled by Italy a year later with £1290 worth of paintings. This increase in imports from Italy was to last until 1726, when again Dutch imports rose to equal Italian for one year in 1731. Imports from Germany, Flanders, and France were recorded but these were very intermittent for the entire period. Imports of paintings from Venice were inconsistent until after 1721. French paintings appeared in 1699 and 1700 but did not re-enter the trade market again until 1713. Minor fluctuations characterized the trade with France until 1721-1722 but after this period and particularly after 1740 France competed strongly with Italy and Holland.

The relative degree of competition between Dutch and Italian painting is evident from the customs figures for the importation of paintings for the periods 1696 - 1720 and again from 1721 - 1760, which will be discussed in detail below.

TABLE 1

Total Imports Paintings and Prints [£] 1696 - 1720

| Rank Order              | Frequencies in Nos.<br>(data incomplete) | Value in Pounds<br>(to nearest decimal point) |
|-------------------------|--|---|
| London and Outports     |  |   |
| 1 Holland               | .....                                    | 5,605.65                                      |
| 2 Italy                 | .....                                    | 3,893.04                                      |
| 3 France                | .....                                    | 1,797.85                                      |
| 4 Flanders              | .....                                    | 479.77  |
| 5 Germany               | .....                                    | 361.42  |
| 6 Venice                | .....                                    | 260.09  |
| 7 Spain                 | .....                                    | 177.35  |
| Total Imports Paintings | .....                                    | 12,575.17                                     |

[\*] NOTE: In this early period customs records combined prints with paintings to form a total. Customs records in this early period were generally incomplete; the numbers of paintings and prints imported were only recorded in a small number of cases. Venice has been treated as a separate country in accordance with seventeenth and eighteenth century records.

Total Frequencies, Imports Paintings 1721-1760

| Rank Order      | Frequencies in Nos. | Value in Pounds<br>London and Outports | Average Price<br>per Painting |
|-----------------|---------------------|--|-------------------------------|
| 1 Italy         | 5,815 .....         | 17,796.66 .....                        | £3.06                         |
| 2 Holland       | 4,398 .....         | 12,039.99 .....                        | 2.74                          |
| 3 France        | 3,965 .....         | 11,376.66 .....                        | 2.87                          |
| 4 Venice        | 1,204 .....         | 3,290.00 .....                         | 2.73                          |
| 5 Flanders      | 1,181 .....         | 3,550.00 .....                         | 3.00                          |
| 6 Germany       | 569 .....           | 1,625.00 .....                         | 2.85                          |
| 7 Spain         | 283 .....           | 943.34 .....                           | 3.33                          |
| Total Paintings | 17,415 .....        | 50,621.65 .....                        | 2.91                          |

Table 1 above shows that Dutch painting and prints (combined) were imported into England in higher frequencies than paintings from all other countries, for a period covering about twenty-four years, that is from 1696 to 1720. However an examination of the whole period from 1721 onwards to 1760 (a period of 39 years), shows that after Brodericks Act of 1721, the importation of paintings from abroad had more than doubled per annum. Italian painting took the lead from Holland, in actual numbers, and in terms of average price per painting. Referring back to Appendix F to Chapter Three, figure 1 shows that higher frequencies for large paintings imported from Italy, Flanders

and more particularly for Spain. It is interesting here to note that the average price for Spanish painting is highest at £3.33 per painting, Italian next at £3.06, and £3.00 for Flemish painting, followed by German, French, Dutch and lastly Venetian paintings. Turning back to the tables for the Importation of paintings by size (see Appendix to Chapter Three) there appears to be a correlation between size of paintings and import price. That is there were a larger number of large Spanish paintings and this in turn reflected a higher average price for importing such works compared with Dutch on the other hand which had the largest number of small paintings. As a result one would also expect the higher costs to import Spanish, Italian and Flemish paintings to be passed on to the consumer, and dealers would expect to obtain higher prices for these paintings in order to make a profit on the sale of each object of at least 200-300 per cent on the original purchase price including the import costs per painting. Referring to the summaries in the Appendix of this chapter shows that Italian painting tended to be higher priced on the average than paintings from Holland probably because the cost of importing larger paintings was higher anyway. A few paintings by Spanish masters such as Spagnoletto Ribera (probably Joseph/Jusepe de Ribera (1588-1656), Bartholome Esteban Murillo (1618-1682), and Francesco de Zurbaran (1598-1664) were listed in the sample, and since the frequencies in numbers were so very small they were not used in the analysis. A painting listed in Lord Halifax's sale in 1737/40 as (lot #81)" Our Saviour and St. Thomas, highly finish't" by Gio. de Ribera (probably Jusepe de Ribera ) was sold for £44.2.0. In 1726 at Lord Cadogan's sale of pictures Murillo's Boys at Cards was sold for £10.5.0. Two paintings of Patriarchs (lots #21 and #29) were purchased by the Bishop of Durham and Mr. Raymond at Mr Mendez 's sale of pictures in 1756, but prices were not recorded. These paintings

appear to have been part of a collection consisting of thirteen figures of Patriarchs listed in the same sale which were by Francesco de Zurbaran. These few examples indicate that the prices paid for Spanish painting seems to be about average at £10.00 and above average for paintings over £40.00 using the averages for Italian painting in the Appendix as a guide to price paid during the period.

By comparing the average cost of importing paintings for each country in Table 1, with the average prices by country in the Appendix of this chapter it is possible to calculate the approximate profit margin earned by dealers importing paintings for public sale as an average for each country. For example, the average price for Italian painting was £16.77 (taking the mean as the average) and the average price of importing Italian painting was £3.06 per painting, so that the net gain per painting after deducting the cost of importing was about £13.71 (over 400 per cent profit). Although the import costs for Dutch painting were only marginally lower at £2.74 per painting, the average price per painting at auction sales was £9.03 and therefore the profit after paying import duties was about £6.29 (just over 200 per cent profit) considerably less than the profit gained on Italian painting. This suggests that dealers were importing large numbers of Italian paintings which probably created an increased demand for the acquisition of this kind of genre in particular by collectors. Higher prices for Italian paintings as an average appears to have brought greater profits to the dealer. However, the evidence suggest that there was also another aspect to the market and that is, that in addition to Italian paintings the large profits gained on the sale of a few exceptional paintings of Italian, Flemish and Dutch origin at the highest prices, probably enabled dealers to purchase a much larger quantity of paintings in the lower price range where profits were less but the potential greater in terms of actual

turn over. These sales in the lower price range had greater reach in the population and must have enabled collectors of modest means to also acquire paintings at auction sales.

#### 5.2.1

#### AUCTION SALES 1711 TO 1759

##### Some Methodological Considerations.

##### 1. Introduction

The parameters for this study were conveniently set by two volumes in manuscript containing sales records which were collected by the Messrs. Richard Houlditch father and son covering the period 1711 to 1759.<sup>17</sup> The historically favourable circumstances which assisted the art market included a shift in political power to the Tories who secured a peaceful resolution to the war with France.<sup>18</sup> The year 1714 also marks not only the end of Stuart power but the beginning of a new dynasty. Peace on the Continent was a boon to trade generally, and brought with it a flow of paintings from Holland, Italy and France. More attention will be given to the effect of new import laws (Brodericks Act) on the importation of paintings and the way in which conflicts abroad (such as the War of the Austrian Succession, Jacobite Rebellion and the Seven Years War) hindered the importation of paintings from France and Italy during the period. The year 1759/60 has been chosen to end this study not only because a significant proportion of the data covers this period but historically it marks the close of an era, and the dawning of a new age for the contemporary British artist with the accession of George III. The sale room was not a good vehicle for the promotion of contemporary British art; instead we see the beginning of private and public exhibitions and the growth of private patronage in support of



contemporary painting. The growth of private dealerships appears to have grown out of the exhibition room rather than auction sales.

## 2. Previous Research

One of the more mechanical methods of dealing with an examination of the names, titles and prices of paintings listed in the V & A Houlditch Sales Catalogues was undertaken by Frank Simpson (1953). He selected a list of paintings which had attained the highest prices in auction sales by some of the most well known Dutch artists. This information is useful as a reference but it does not provide enough information about collecting Dutch painting in general, nor does it compare the prices for Dutch painting with other European paintings. A random sample of the Houlditch Sales catalogues for this chapter will extend Simpson's list.

Similar methods were used by Iain Pears in his thesis (1984) which attempted to show that the popularity for certain artists was based on a list of the highest priced European and British paintings in sales catalogues. However, this latter study did not provide an overall view of price structure to determine what the majority of people were willing to pay for paintings at auction sales, and how Dutch painting competed with other European paintings in terms of subject matter and the fame of the artist. The latter objectives will be examined in the course of this chapter to advance knowledge about salesroom behaviour in the first half of the eighteenth century.

### 3. Preliminary Study

The experimental procedures designed to answer the main objectives were first tested out using a systematic listing of all seventeenth century Dutch paintings in eleven sales (Nos. 1-11) in the first volume of the Houlditch Catalogues. 1711-1759. These included: (1) 1747 Mr. Richardson; (2) 1722 Duke of Portland; (3) 1735 Sir James Thornhill (artist); (4) 1726 Mr. Andrew Hay (artist and dealer); (5) Sir William Willy; (6) (?) Marquis Cassanedi; (7) 1748 Mr. John van Spangen; (8) 1740 Lord Halifax; (9) 1737 Sir Andrew Fountain; (10) 1728 Mr. Philipps; (11) 1740 Mr. C. Jervis (artist). Valuable information was gained about (1) the variety of Dutch artists; (2) the variety of subject matter, and (3) the wide range of prices. Under the direction of Mr. Rex Galbraith, Statistics Department, University College, London, it was suggested that a simple random sample of paintings (irrespective of country of origin) covering all 178 Sales Catalogues would produce a representative sample of paintings, from which to examine the hypothesis that seventeenth century Dutch painting was available in large numbers at very cheap prices compared with higher priced Italian and French painting .

#### 4. THE MAIN STUDY

##### Sample Size

The total number of paintings in the Houlditch Sales Catalogues, (two volumes), (1711-1759), is 18,793 paintings. A 2.5% sample was selected, beginning from a random starting point and then selecting every painting at the 40th interval :  $\frac{18,793}{40} = 469 = 2.5\%$  of the total. This system was repeated for all of the 178 sales. The actual useable sample size was 424 = 2.3% of the total called Sample I in this study.

Since, this kind of study has never been attempted before it was suggested \* that a second but identical random sample be selected, by taking every painting at the 40th interval as above. The actual useable sample size was 417 = 2.2% of the total, called Sample 2. Together, the total sample size was 842 = 4.5% of the total, which is large enough to be considered representative of total collecting behaviour .

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\* This work was completed under the direction of Mr. Rex Galbraith, Department of Statistics, University College, London and with the help of Dr. William Vaughan, Dept. History of Art, Birkbeck College, University of London.

**Table 2**  
**A Comparative Analysis of Subject Matter, 1711-1759**

The thirteen Subject categories below represent a cumulation of twenty-six categories from Table I in Appendix chapter six. All minor categories especially 'undefined type' 'other', 'unknown country of origin' have been excluded from the table below. Sample source: Houlditch Sales Catalogues 1711-1759, Victoria and Albert Museum Library, \*

| Subject   | Sample I<br>Total No. Paintings |       |   | Sample II<br>Total No. Paintings |       |
|---|---------------------------------|-------|---|----------------------------------|-------|
|   | Number                          | %     |   | Number                           | %     |
| 1 Mythological Histories                            | 19                              | 5.4   | ' | 15                               | 4.2   |
| 2 Mythological Figures                              | 6                               | 1.7   | ' | 18                               | 5.1   |
| 3 Biblical Histories                                | 48                              | 13.7  | ' | 40                               | 11.3  |
| 4 Biblical Figures                                  | 27                              | 7.6   | ' | 32                               | 9.0   |
| 5 Allegorical Subjects                              | 13                              | 3.7   | ' | 8                                | 2.3   |
| 6 Portraits   | 53                              | 15.0  | ' | 40                               | 11.3  |
| 7 Genre Figure                                      | 30                              | 8.5   | ' | 27                               | 7.6   |
| 8 Dolls, Low-life                                   | 1                               | 0.3   | ' | 8                                | 2.3   |
| 9 Still-life  | 21                              | 5.9   | ' | 23                               | 6.5   |
| 10 Architectural <u>veduti</u><br>and buildings.    | 21                              | 5.9   | ' | 18                               | 5.1   |
| 11 Seascapes  | 11                              | 3.1   | ' | 16                               | 4.5   |
| 12 Landscapes                                       | 103                             | 29.2  | ' | 109                              | 30.8  |
| Total less unknowns, etc.<br>( Tables 3,4 & 5 )     | 353                             | 100.0 | ' | 354                              | 100.0 |
| Total useable sample<br>(incl. unknown, unidentif.) | 366                             |       | ' | 373                              |       |
| Total sample size (Appendix 5)                      | 424                             |       | ' | 417                              |       |

\* A discussion of the method used in collecting these samples has been outlined above.

The analysis in Table 2 above indicates that there appears to be very little difference between the samples for each subject category. For both samples landscape painting has the highest rank, followed by portraiture, biblical histories and figures; genre painting is slightly ahead of mythological histories, followed by architectural views, and still-life. Doll painting has now fallen to the lowest place. In the previous chapter it will be recalled that religious and mythological subjects ranked last after landscape,

portraits genre and still life, but in the eighteenth century history painting occupied a more prominent position in collections. However, it was by no means the most popular type of painting and this probably explains the reason why art theorists and practitioners such as Reynolds continued to make a veiled plea to ensure its survival and continued improvement.

A detailed examination of the frequency distribution of subject matter for each country does indicate that there were small variations in the total frequencies between Sample 1 & 2 but the differences were not great.

#### 5.2.2. AN ANALYSIS OF SUBJECT MATTER IN PAINTINGS IN AUCTION SALES

##### 1710-1760, ACCORDING TO COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

The two independent random samples collected as part of this study, were collated to produce two separate tables of frequencies in numbers to which the reader can refer in the Appendix. The same 26 categories used in the Ogden's study of subject matter and for the Table in the Appendix to Chapter Four have again been used, to observe the changes and broadening of the scope in the art market which occurred as a result of the importation of paintings for public sale from Continental sources from 1695 onwards.

At first glance the most noticeable change is the fact that there appear to be fewer paintings by foreign artists working in England now in circulation in the art market. The only exception, was Flemish paintings where there is a higher frequency of portrait paintings by Flemish artists working in England. Some of these are no doubt 'residuals' that is, artists working in England in the last quarter of the 17th Century, while others are undoubtedly 18th Century contemporaries serving the growing demand for portraiture.

The two independent random samples compared in Table 2 are the

subject of the analyses in Tables 3 and 4 for Sample 1 and Tables 5 & 6 for Sample 2.

Table 3 is a two-way table of frequencies in numbers of paintings. The twenty-six (26) subject categories used in Chapter Four were reduced to 12 subject categories and the results cumulated for the sake of convenience and clarity.

Table 4 is identical to Table 3, but expresses each subject category as a percentage of the total for each country.

Tables 5 & 6 are again identical to 3 & 4 above for all subject categories.

Table 5 is a two-way table of frequencies in number of paintings for Sample 2 and (like Table 4 above) Table 6 expresses each subject category as a row percentage of the total for each country.

A detailed examination of the most striking features of the auction of paintings for 7 principal countries, during the period 1711 - 1759 will be discussed later, but here is a brief overview. Tables 3 - 6 indicate that for both samples Dutch painting had slightly higher frequencies than Italian painting, followed closely by Flemish paintings, while Venetian and French frequencies were considerably lower, consisting of about half the number of Italian and Flemish paintings. The frequencies for German and British paintings were very small.

In terms of subject matter both samples indicate that Dutch painting was more heavily weighted on the side of secular subject matter - landscapes, seascapes, portraiture and genre, while on the other hand Italian and Venetian painting had higher frequencies for mythological and biblical histories and biblical figures. An increase in the numbers of arthitectural settings and views was one of the most interesting features of Italian and Venetian painting in the 18th Century.

TABLE 3

SAMPLE 1 : A Two-way Table of Frequencies in Numbers of Paintings of Various  
Subjects for artists Working in England and Abroad, 1711-1759  
 (see Table 1 in Appendix 5, Chapter Five )

| Subjects                 | Landsc, Seasc, Still-<br>life | Portr, Drolls | Genre | Myth, Myth, Bibl, Bibl, Alleg,Archit, TOTAL<br>Hist, Figs, Hist, Figs, |   |    |    |   |    |    |    |    |     |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------|-------|--|---|----|----|---|----|----|----|----|-----|
| <u>Country of Origin</u> |                               |               |       |  |   |    |    |   |    |    |    |    |     |
| <u>HOLLAND</u>           |                               |               |       |  |   |    |    |   |    |    |    |    |     |
| Work in England          |                               |               |       |  |   |    |    |   |    |    |    |    |     |
| Yes                      | 9                             | 2             | 4     | 7  | - | 3  | 1  | 1 | -  | -  | -  | 1  | 28  |
| No                       | 34                            | 6             | 2     | 6  | 1 | 11 | 1  | 1 | 3  | 1  | -  | 2  | 68  |
| TOTAL in Nos,            | 43                            | 8             | 6     | 13   | 1 | 14 | 2  | 2 | 3  | 1  | -  | 3  | 96  |
| <u>ITALY</u>             |                               |               |       |  |   |    |    |   |    |    |    |    |     |
| Work in England          |                               |               |       |  |   |    |    |   |    |    |    |    |     |
| Yes                      | 1                             |               |       |  |   |    | 1  |   |    |    |    |    | 2   |
| No                       | 7                             | 1             | 1     | 5  | - | -  | 8  | 1 | 17 | 19 | 5  | 9  | 73  |
| TOTAL in Nos,            | 8                             | 1             | 1     | 5  | - | -  | 9  | 1 | 17 | 19 | 5  | 9  | 75  |
| <u>VENICE</u>            |                               |               |       |  |   |    |    |   |    |    |    |    |     |
| Work in England          |                               |               |       |  |   |    |    |   |    |    |    |    |     |
| Yes                      | -                             | -             | -     | -  | - | 1  | 1  | - | 1  | -  | -  | 3  | 6   |
| No                       | -                             | -             | -     | 4  | - | 3  | 1  | - | 6  | 3  | 2  | 4  | 23  |
| TOTAL in Nos,            | -                             | -             | -     | 4  | - | 4  | 2  | - | 7  | 3  | 2  | 7  | 29  |
| <u>FLANDERS</u>          |                               |               |       |  |   |    |    |   |    |    |    |    |     |
| Work in England          |                               |               |       |  |   |    |    |   |    |    |    |    |     |
| Yes                      | 1                             | -             | 3     | 14   | - | -  | 3  | 2 | 4  | -  | 2  | -  | 29  |
| No                       | 15                            | 1             | 2     | 1  | - | 8  | 1  | - | 9  | 1  | 2  | 1  | 41  |
| TOTAL in Nos,            | 16                            | 1             | 5     | 15   | - | 8  | 4  | 2 | 13 | 1  | 4  | 1  | 70  |
| <u>FRANCE</u>            |                               |               |       |  |   |    |    |   |    |    |    |    |     |
| Work in England          |                               |               |       |  |   |    |    |   |    |    |    |    |     |
| Yes                      | 1                             | -             | 5     | -  | - | 2  | -  | - | -  | -  | -  | -  | 8   |
| No                       | 31                            | -             | 1     | 2  | - | -  | 1  | - | 2  | 1  | 1  | -  | 39  |
| TOTAL in Nos,            | 32                            | -             | 6     | 2  | - | 2  | 1  | - | 2  | 1  | 1  | -  | 47  |
| <u>GERMANY</u>           |                               |               |       |  |   |    |    |   |    |    |    |    |     |
| Work in England          |                               |               |       |  |   |    |    |   |    |    |    |    |     |
| Yes                      | -                             | -             | -     | 4  | - | -  | -  | - | -  | 1  | -  | -  | 5   |
| No                       | 2                             | -             | 3     | -  | - | 2  | -  | 1 | 3  | 1  | 1  | 1  | 14  |
| TOTAL in Nos,            | 2                             | -             | 3     | 4  | - | 2  | -  | 1 | 3  | 2  | 1  | 1  | 19  |
| <u>BRITAIN</u>           |                               |               |       |  |   |    |    |   |    |    |    |    |     |
| Work in England          |                               |               |       |  |   |    |    |   |    |    |    |    |     |
| Yes                      | 2                             | 1             | -     | 10   | - | -  | 1  | - | 3  | -  | -  | -  | 17  |
| No                       | -                             | -             | -     | -  | - | -  | -  | - | -  | -  | -  | -  | -   |
| TOTAL in Nos,            | 2                             | 1             | -     | 10   | - | -  | 1  | - | 3  | -  | -  | -  | 17  |
| GRAND TOTAL              | 103                           | 11            | 21    | 53   | 1 | 30 | 19 | 6 | 48 | 27 | 13 | 21 | 353 |

TABLE 4

SAMPLE 1 : A Two-way Table of Frequencies in Percentages of Paintings of Various Subjects for artists Working in England and Abroad 1711-1759.

These are the row percentages for each country in Table 3 above.

| Subjects                 |     | Landsc. | Seasc. | Still-life | Portr. | Drolls | Genre | Myth. | Myth. | Bibl. | Bibl. | Alleg. | Archit. | TOTAL |
|--------------------------|-----|---------|--------|------------|--------|--------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--------|---------|-------|
|                          |     |         |        |            |        |        |       | Hist. | Figs. | Hist. | Figs. |        |         |       |
| <u>Country of Origin</u> |     |         |        |            |        |        |       |       |       |       |       |        |         |       |
| <u>HOLLAND</u>           |     |         |        |            |        |        |       |       |       |       |       |        |         |       |
| Work in England          |     |         |        |            |        |        |       |       |       |       |       |        |         |       |
|                          | Yes | 32,1    | 7,1    | 14,3       | 25,0   | -      | 10,7  | 3,6   | 3,6   | -     | -     | -      | 3,6     | 100%  |
|                          | No  | 50,0    | 8,8    | 2,9        | 8,8    | 1,5    | 16,2  | 1,5   | 1,5   | 4,4   | 1,5   | -      | 2,9     | 100%  |
| TOTAL in %               |     | 45,0    | 8,3    | 6,2        | 13,5   | 1,0    | 14,6  | 2,1   | 2,1   | 3,1   | 1,0   | -      | 3,1     | 100%  |
| <u>ITALY</u>             |     |         |        |            |        |        |       |       |       |       |       |        |         |       |
| Work in England          |     |         |        |            |        |        |       |       |       |       |       |        |         |       |
|                          | Yes | 50,0    | -      | -          | -      | -      | -     | 50,0  | -     | -     | -     | -      | -       | 100%  |
|                          | No  | 9,6     | 1,4    | 1,4        | 6,8    | -      | -     | 11,0  | 1,4   | 23,3  | 26,0  | 6,8    | 12,3    | 100%  |
| TOTAL in %               |     | 10,7    | 1,3    | 1,3        | 6,7    | -      | -     | 12,0  | 1,3   | 22,7  | 25,3  | 6,7    | 12,0    | 100%  |
| <u>VENICE</u>            |     |         |        |            |        |        |       |       |       |       |       |        |         |       |
| Work in England          |     |         |        |            |        |        |       |       |       |       |       |        |         |       |
|                          | Yes | -       | -      | -          | -      | -      | 16,7  | 16,7  | -     | 16,7  | -     | -      | 50,0    | 100%  |
|                          | No  | -       | -      | -          | 17,4   | -      | 13,0  | 4,3   | -     | 26,2  | 13,0  | 8,7    | 17,4    | 100%  |
| TOTAL in %               |     | -       | -      | -          | 13,8   | -      | 13,8  | 7,0   | -     | 24,1  | 10,3  | 6,9    | 24,11   | 100%  |
| <u>FLANDERS</u>          |     |         |        |            |        |        |       |       |       |       |       |        |         |       |
| Work in England          |     |         |        |            |        |        |       |       |       |       |       |        |         |       |
|                          | Yes | 3,5     | -      | 10,3       | 48,3   | -      | -     | 10,3  | 6,9   | 13,8  | -     | 6,9    | -       | 100%  |
|                          | No  | 36,6    | 2,4    | 5,0        | 2,4    | -      | 19,5  | 2,4   | -     | 22,0  | 2,4   | 4,0    | 2,4     | 100%  |
| TOTAL in Nos.            |     | 23,0    | 1,4    | 7,1        | 21,4   | -      | 11,4  | 5,7   | 2,9   | 18,6  | 1,4   | 5,7    | 1,4     | 100%  |
| <u>FRANCE</u>            |     |         |        |            |        |        |       |       |       |       |       |        |         |       |
| Work in England          |     |         |        |            |        |        |       |       |       |       |       |        |         |       |
|                          | Yes | 12,5    | -      | 62,5       | -      | -      | 25,0  | -     | -     | -     | -     | -      | -       | 100%  |
|                          | No  | 79,4    | -      | 2,6        | 5,1    | -      | -     | 2,6   | -     | 5,1   | 2,6   | 2,6    | -       | 100%  |
| TOTAL in %               |     | 68,1    | -      | 12,7       | 4,3    | -      | 4,3   | 2,1   | -     | 4,3   | 2,1   | 2,1    | -       | 100%  |
| <u>GERMANY</u>           |     |         |        |            |        |        |       |       |       |       |       |        |         |       |
| Work in England          |     |         |        |            |        |        |       |       |       |       |       |        |         |       |
|                          | Yes | -       | -      | -          | 80,0   | -      | -     | -     | -     | -     | 20,0  | -      | -       | 100%  |
|                          | No  | 14,3    | -      | 21,4       | -      | -      | 14,3  | -     | 7,1   | 21,4  | 7,1   | 7,1    | -       | 100%  |
| TOTAL in %               |     | 10,5    | -      | 15,8       | 21,0   | -      | 10,5  | -     | 5,3   | 15,8  | 10,5  | 5,3    | -       | 100%  |
| <u>BRITAIN</u>           |     |         |        |            |        |        |       |       |       |       |       |        |         |       |
| Work in England          |     |         |        |            |        |        |       |       |       |       |       |        |         |       |
|                          | Yes | 11,8    | 5,9    | -          | 58,8   | -      | -     | 5,9   | -     | 17,6  | -     | -      | -       | 100%  |
|                          | No  | -       | -      | -          | -      | -      | -     | -     | -     | -     | -     | -      | -       | -     |
| TOTAL in %               |     | 11,8    | 5,9    | -          | 58,8   | -      | -     | 5,9   | -     | 17,6  | -     | -      | -       | 100%  |



TABLE 5

SAMPLE 2 : A Two-way Table of Frequencies in Numbers of Paintings of Various Subjects  
for artists Working in England and Abroad, 1711-1759  
(See Table 2 in Appendix 5, Chapter Five).

| SUBJECT           | Lansc. | Seasc. | Still-life | Portr. | Drolls | Genre | Myth, Hist. | Myth, Figs. | Bibl. | Bibl. | Alleg. | Archit. | TOTAL |
|-------------------|--------|--------|------------|--------|--------|-------|-------------|-------------|-------|-------|--------|---------|-------|
| Country of Origin |        |        |            |        |        |       |             |             |       |       |        |         |       |
| HOLLAND           |        |        |            |        |        |       |             |             |       |       |        |         |       |
| Work in England   |        |        |            |        |        |       |             |             |       |       |        |         |       |
| Yes               | 8      | -      | 1          | 7      | 3      | -     | -           | 1           | -     | 1     | 1      | -       | 22    |
| No                | 34     | 10     | 6          | 9      | 3      | 13    | 3           | -           | 4     | 2     | -      | 5       | 89    |
| TOTAL in Nos.     | 42     | 10     | 7          | 16     | 6      | 13    | 3           | 1           | 4     | 3     | 1      | 5       | 111   |
| ITALY             |        |        |            |        |        |       |             |             |       |       |        |         |       |
| Work in England   |        |        |            |        |        |       |             |             |       |       |        |         |       |
| Yes               | 2      | -      | -          | -      | -      | -     | -           | -           | -     | -     | -      | -       | 2     |
| No                | 12     | 2      | 3          | 2      | -      | 3     | 6           | 8           | 18    | 16    | 3      | 6       | 79    |
| TOTAL in Nos.     | 14     | 2      | 3          | 2      | -      | 3     | 6           | 8           | 18    | 16    | 3      | 6       | 81    |
| VENICE            |        |        |            |        |        |       |             |             |       |       |        |         |       |
| Work in England   |        |        |            |        |        |       |             |             |       |       |        |         |       |
| Yes               | -      | -      | -          | -      | -      | 1     | -           | -           | -     | 2     | 1      | 7       | 11    |
| No                | 5      | -      | -          | 4      | -      | -     | -           | 4           | 4     | 1     | 1      | -       | 19    |
| TOTAL in Nos.     | 5      | -      | -          | 4      | -      | 1     | -           | 4           | 4     | 3     | 2      | 7       | 30    |
| FLANDERS          |        |        |            |        |        |       |             |             |       |       |        |         |       |
| Work in England   |        |        |            |        |        |       |             |             |       |       |        |         |       |
| Yes               | -      | 1      | 2          | 9      | -      | 2     | 3           | -           | 4     | 1     | -      | -       | 22    |
| No                | 24     | 1      | 5          | 2      | 2      | 2     | 2           | -           | 2     | -     | -      | -       | 40    |
| TOTAL in Nos.     | 24     | 2      | 7          | 11     | 2      | 4     | 5           |             | 6     | 1     | -      | -       | 62    |
| FRANCE            |        |        |            |        |        |       |             |             |       |       |        |         |       |
| Work in England   |        |        |            |        |        |       |             |             |       |       |        |         |       |
| Yes               | 2      | -      | 1          | -      | -      | 3     | -           | -           | 1     | -     | -      | -       | 7     |
| No                | 20     | -      | 1          | 1      | -      | 3     | 1           | -           | 3     | 3     | 1      | -       | 33    |
| TOTAL in Nos.     | 22     | -      | 2          | 1      | -      | 6     | 1           | -           | 4     | 3     | 1      | -       | 40    |
| GERMANY           |        |        |            |        |        |       |             |             |       |       |        |         |       |
| Work in England   |        |        |            |        |        |       |             |             |       |       |        |         |       |
| Yes               | 2      | -      | -          | 3      | -      | -     | -           | -           | -     | 1     | -      | -       | 6     |
| No                | -      | -      | -          | -      | -      | -     | -           | 3           | 3     | 3     | 1      | -       | 10    |
| TOTAL in Nos.     | 2      | -      | -          | 3      | -      | -     | -           | 3           | 3     | 4     | 1      | -       | 16    |
| BRITAIN           |        |        |            |        |        |       |             |             |       |       |        |         |       |
| Work in England   |        |        |            |        |        |       |             |             |       |       |        |         |       |
| Yes               | -      | 2      | 4          | 3      | -      | -     | -           | 2           | 1     | 2     | -      | -       | 14    |
| No                | -      | -      | -          | -      | -      | -     | -           | -           | -     | -     | -      | -       | 14    |
| TOTAL in Nos.     | -      | 2      | 4          | 3      | -      | -     | -           | 2           | 1     | 2     | -      | -       | 14    |
| GRAND TOTAL       | 109    | 16     | 23         | 40     | 8      | 27    | 15          | 18          | 40    | 32    | 8      | 18      | 354   |

TABLE 6

SAMPLE 2 : A Two-way Table of Frequencies in Percentages of Paintings of Various Subjects  
for artists Working in England and Abroad, 1711-1759

These are the row percentages for each country in Table 5 above.

| SUBJECT           | Lansc. | Seasc. | Still-life | Portr. | Drolls | Genre | Myth, Hist. | Myth, Figs. | Bibl. | Bibl. | Alleg. | Archit. | TOTAL |
|-------------------|--------|--------|------------|--------|--------|-------|-------------|-------------|-------|-------|--------|---------|-------|
| Country of Origin |        |        |            |        |        |       |             |             |       |       |        |         |       |
| HOLLAND           |        |        |            |        |        |       |             |             |       |       |        |         |       |
| Work in England   |        |        |            |        |        |       |             |             |       |       |        |         |       |
| Yes               | 36.4   | -      | 4.5        | 32.0   | 13.6   | -     | -           | 4.5         | -     | 4.5   | 4.5    | -       | 100%  |
| No                | 38.2   | 11.2   | 6.7        | 10.1   | 3.4    | 14.7  | 3.4         | -           | 4.5   | 2.2   | -      | 5.6     | 100%  |
| TOTAL %           | 37.5   | 9.0    | 6.2        | 14.4   | 5.4    | 11.6  | 3.0         | 0.9         | 3.6   | 3.0   | 0.9    | 4.5     | 100%  |
| ITALY             |        |        |            |        |        |       |             |             |       |       |        |         |       |
| Work in England   |        |        |            |        |        |       |             |             |       |       |        |         |       |
| Yes               | 100    | -      | -          | -      | -      | -     | -           | -           | -     | -     | -      | -       | 100%  |
| No                | 15.2   | 2.5    | 3.8        | 2.5    | -      | 3.8   | 7.6         | 10.1        | 22.8  | 20.3  | 3.8    | 7.6     | 100%  |
| TOTAL %           | 17.3   | 2.5    | 3.7        | 2.5    | -      | 3.7   | 7.4         | 9.9         | 22.2  | 19.7  | 3.7    | 7.4     | 100%  |
| VENICE            |        |        |            |        |        |       |             |             |       |       |        |         |       |
| Work in England   |        |        |            |        |        |       |             |             |       |       |        |         |       |
| Yes               | -      | -      | -          | -      | -      | 9.1   | -           | -           | -     | 18.2  | 9.1    | 63.6    | 100%  |
| No                | 26.3   | -      | -          | 21.1   | -      | -     | -           | 21.1        | 21.1  | 5.2   | 5.2    | -       | 100%  |
| TOTAL %           | 16.8   | -      | -          | 13.3   | -      | 3.3   | -           | 13.3        | 13.3  | 10.0  | 6.7    | 23.3    | 100%  |
| FLANDERS          |        |        |            |        |        |       |             |             |       |       |        |         |       |
| Work in England   |        |        |            |        |        |       |             |             |       |       |        |         |       |
| Yes               | -      | 4.5    | 9.1        | 41.0   | -      | 9.1   | 13.6        | -           | 18.2  | 4.5   | -      | -       | 100%  |
| No                | 60.0   | 2.5    | 12.5       | 5.0    | 5.0    | 5.0   | 5.0         | -           | 5.0   | -     | -      | -       | 100%  |
| TOTAL %           | 38.7   | 3.2    | 11.3       | 17.7   | 3.2    | 6.5   | 8.1         | -           | 9.7   | 1.6   | -      | -       | 100%  |
| FRANCE            |        |        |            |        |        |       |             |             |       |       |        |         |       |
| Work in England   |        |        |            |        |        |       |             |             |       |       |        |         |       |
| Yes               | 28.6   | -      | 14.3       | -      | -      | 42.8  | -           | -           | 14.3  | -     | -      | -       | 100%  |
| No                | 60.7   | -      | 3.0        | 3.0    | -      | 9.1   | 3.0         | -           | 9.1   | 9.1   | 3.0    | -       | 100%  |
| TOTAL %           | 55.0   | -      | 5.0        | 2.5    | -      | 15.0  | 2.5         | -           | 10.0  | 7.5   | 2.5    | -       | 100%  |
| GERMANY           |        |        |            |        |        |       |             |             |       |       |        |         |       |
| Work in England   |        |        |            |        |        |       |             |             |       |       |        |         |       |
| Yes               | 33.3   | -      | -          | 50.0   | -      | -     | -           | -           | -     | 16.7  | -      | -       | 100%  |
| No                | -      | -      | -          | -      | -      | -     | -           | 30.0        | 30.0  | 30.0  | 10.0   | -       | 100%  |
| TOTAL %           | 12.6   | -      | -          | 18.7   | -      | -     | -           | 18.7        | 18.7  | 25.0  | 6.3    | -       | 100%  |
| BRITAIN           |        |        |            |        |        |       |             |             |       |       |        |         |       |
| Work in England   |        |        |            |        |        |       |             |             |       |       |        |         |       |
| Yes               | -      | 14.3   | 28.6       | 21.4   | -      | -     | -           | 14.3        | 7.1   | 14.3  | -      | -       | 100%  |
| No                | -      | -      | -          | -      | -      | -     | -           | -           | -     | -     | -      | -       | 100%  |
| TOTAL %           | -      | 14.3   | 28.6       | 21.4   | -      | -     | -           | 14.3        | 7.1   | 14.3  | -      | -       | 100%  |

### 5.2.3 SEVENTEENTH CENTURY DUTCH PAINTINGS IN AUCTION SALES 1711-1759

#### AN OVERVIEW

An analysis of Tables 3 to 6 above, shows that changes in the customs laws increasing the supply and the variety of paintings imported for public sale had affected the composition of paintings in English auction sales in the period after 1695. There were lower frequencies for paintings by Dutch masters working in England than the period before 1695 which supports my own observations that there was a decline in the numbers of Dutch artists working in England by the turn of the century. It seems that this decline in the numbers of resident Dutch artists was probably due to the fact that auction sales offered the public wider variety of paintings from wider sources and seventeenth century Dutch paintings undoubtedly challenged domestic Dutch production because they were available at reasonable prices. This feature was particularly noticeable in the case of landscape in both samples which shows that although there are still a few paintings by Dutch artists working in England the numbers declined in favour of an increase in the numbers of paintings by Dutch artist abroad. The frequencies for portraiture by Dutch artists working in England and abroad were almost the same which suggests that competition from auction sales forced artists to turn to portrait painting as a means of earning a living. The analysis above shows that the propensity to collect landscape painting by seventeenth century Dutch masters was still evident in auction sales after 1695. At the same time there was a noticeable increase in the propensity to collect seventeenth century Dutch genre paintings and conversation pieces, which appear to have increased in frequency during the eighteenth century. The analysis indicates that

seascapes and still life paintings were also popular. However the frequencies for biblical figures and mythological history painting by Dutch artists were still very low which suggests that this art form was not available in large numbers from Holland or on the other hand that the English were not interested in acquiring Dutch histories. On the other hand the analysis in Tables 3 and 5 above showed a marked decline in the numbers of low-life and droll painting which suggests that a change in taste had occurred. On the other hand the analysis indicated that there has been an increased propensity to collect genre painting by exemplary masters. The fashionable 'grand tour' of Europe brought about an increased propensity to collect architectural views of townscapes and churches which were probably purchased by travellers in Holland as souvenirs of their trip.

Dutch landscape paintings have been divided into two main categories which distinguish the works of Italian trained artists and their followers, from those who remained in Holland and painted native Dutch scenes. However, in some cases these were not distinct categories since the Italianate Dutch style also influenced Northern Naturalism which can be seen in the paintings of Adriaen van de Velde and Aelbert Cuyp. Eighteenth century collectors appear to have used these categories to distinguish between the two types of landscape. Frederick Harms used the term 'after nature' and 'topographical' to describe the work of Dutch artists and the list of paintings in the appendix of this chapter describes scenes which included the artists family. The best example is a lengthy description of a landscape by Cuyp (lot # 43) from the fine collection of Mr. John Bertels of Brussels sold by auction in London on the 7th. April, 1775 :

A perspective view of the agreeable environs of Cleves, with the Rhine and town in the remote distance; this view after nature, is enriched with the artist occupied in drawing the same, his servant holding the horses, and a shepherd reposing with his flock; undoubtedly this scene must have struck the painter with admiration, which may be seen by the labour and attention bestowed on it, and it is looked upon as one of his

highest finished pictures extant.<sup>19</sup>

Dealing first with Italianate - Dutch landscape paintings and then moving on to the Naturalistic Dutch types, this analysis will examine the prices paid for these latter paintings, as a means of determining popularity. These findings will be also be compared with the prices paid for Italian, French and Flemish landscapes which were being sold in auctions at the same time. Furthermore this Chapter will challenge the assumption that eighteenth century collectors regarded Dutch painting as inferior to Italian painting on the basis of age, merit of artist, the subject matter, and the price of the painting. In the appendix a summary of the prices paid for the principal types of paintings and a synchronic listing of artists selected by random sampling methods, illustrates the numbers of paintings by artists in the sample, and the prices recorded at auction sales.

Using the arguments put forward by Waagen that original paintings particularly older masters were rare, one would expect to find that the prices paid for older and original works would have been awarded the highest prices at auction sales. One of the difficulties is that it is almost impossible to determine which variables had the most influence in determining the collectors choice in the market place. It appears for example that although rarity and age were important variables they were not the only ones affecting the price paid for paintings. For example, the fame of an artist, the quality of the painting and the subject matter were all factors which ultimately influenced the collectors choice, but since we cannot see the paintings these variables remain unknown. It also appears that the price paid at auction also depended on the kind of collection advertised prior to the sale. A meritorious collection probably attracted a larger audience and buyers who were prepared to pay higher prices knowing that their prospective purchases were undoubted

originals. On the other hand, since the majority of paintings on the market did not fall into this category, the evidence suggests that buyers were not willing to take the risk and pay high prices for works which did not have good provenance. This meant that there were large numbers of paintings in the lower price range some of which must have been undiscovered originals along with the numerous copies and works by lesser artists. Additional information supporting the popularity of an artist was provided by primary and secondary source material of the period, which listed the paintings owned by noteworthy collectors who also acquired paintings at auction sales.

#### 5.2.4 ITALIANATE DUTCH LANDSCAPE PAINTINGS

Italianate-Dutch paintings appear to have been highly regarded by eighteenth Century collectors. Views of Italian countryside and ruins painted by Poelenberg, Herman Swanevelt, Nicholas Berchem, Weenix, Wijnants and Wouwermans seem to have been as highly prized as Italian Landscapes by Rosa of Tivoli and Zuccarelli. This can be observed by turning to the summary of prices paid for Dutch and Italian landscapes listed in the appendix.

Examining each painting individually to illustrate the range in prices for each artist's oeuvre, is intended to demonstrate how the audience reacted to such factors as the rarity in the case of older masters, the quality and fame of the artist along with the influence of trust in the provenance for paintings from highly acclaimed collections. For example paintings by two of the oldest Dutch masters Abraham Bloemart (c. 1564-1658) and Roelant Savery (1576-1639) were particularly scarce in eighteenth century auction sales, but this factor alone did not affect the price paid since there was always the risk that the works of masters of renown were forgeries or copies after an original. The Minitab summary of prices in Table 7 below

showing the mean (as a class) and a histogram of Italianate-Dutch landscapes is a useful means of judging whether a painting falls above or below the mean as an average. In this case since the mean has been inflated by a single and unusually high priced painting at the upper end of the scale, the most useful measure in each case is the modal value (as a class) represented by the majority of paintings.

TABLE 7  
A STATISTICAL SUMMARY OF PRICES PAID FOR ITALIANATE-DUTCH LANDSCAPES  
IN AUCTION SALES 1711-1759 \*

| N    | MEAN  | MEDIAN | TRMEAN | STDEV | SEMEAN |
|------|-------|--------|--------|-------|--------|
| 28   | 7.12  | 4.50   | 6.10   | 7.99  | 1.51   |
| MIN  | MAX   | Q1     | Q3     |       |        |
| 0.90 | 39.90 | 2.81   | 8.20   |       |        |

HISTOGRAM #of Prices listed in the Appendix  
N = 28

| Midpoint | Count |       |
|----------|-------|-------|
| 0        | 4     | ****  |
| 5        | 16    | ***** |
| 10       | 5     | ***** |
| 15       | 0     |       |
| 20       | 2     | **    |
| 25       | 0     |       |
| 30       | 0     |       |
| 35       | 0     |       |
| 40       | 1     | *     |

A few paintings by Bloemart appeared in the sample. These included a landscape with figures sold by Lord Pomfret, Lord Baltimore and the auctioneer Mr. Blackwood at a sale in 1758. This painting was purchased by an unknown collector [Mr.?] Goen, but no price was recorded. However, a systematic collecting and cataloguing of paintings from the same set of catalogues produced a single painting by Bloemaert at Sir Andrew Fountain's sale in 1732 entitled St. John preaching in the Wilderness- a religious subject set in landscape, which sold for an above average figure of £16.5.0 <sup>20</sup>. Turning to table 4 above it is clear that this price is well above the mean value for Italianate-Dutch paintings.

Thomas Martyn's description of the Collections of noteworthy Londoners, showed that apart from landscapes, Bloemaert was better known in the collections of a number of noteworthy households around London for his genre and portraiture. Martyn's list included A Woman in a Hat at Chiswick House (the Duke of Devonshire); A Dutch Woman at Lord Lyttleton's, Hagley Park; A Virgin and Saviour, and Shepherd & Shepherdess at Wilton, the Duke of Pembroke's residence.<sup>21</sup>. Although Martyn's list did not include price valuations it was nonetheless a useful source, and probably gave eighteenth century collectors an opportunity to study the names of important artists, and inspired them to observe favourite paintings at auction sales or in private collections. Martyn's book probably served as a guide to private collections encouraging the public to take trips into the country-side to visit picture galleries in grand houses which gradually came into vogue during the eighteenth century.

Returning to the sample, a few paintings by Roelant Savery were included in the random selection, which have been listed in the appendix. In 1744/5 Mr. Paris sold a painting entitled The Creation, for £7.07.0 to Mr. Crispin, and again in 1756 a painting with the same title was sold by Mr. Mendez for £3.08.9. The fact that there were paintings of the same title (and subject matter) must have left the purchaser in doubt as to which ones were originals and which ones were copies. Unusually high prices for paintings by Savery were evident from Pears' study of paintings attaining £40.00 or more at auction sales for the period 1711-1759 <sup>22</sup>. These great extremes in price suggest that high prices depended on the number of knowledgeable and keen purchasers bidding for the same painting in the sale room. On the other hand the sample shows what was actually happening is that there were a large number of lower priced paintings, which suggests that there was little competition at this end of the market and this might



have been due to a lack of confidence in the authenticity of the work or because the painting was a poor example of the masters work.

Again Martyn's book shows how many well-to-do collections contained the works of Savery. There were only two out of a dozen or more collections. Charles Jennens, art connoisseur and patron of Handel owned two religious subjects set in landscape by Roelant Savery; one of these was entitled Landscapes with Cain & Abel, and the other A Landscape with Elijah and Ravens<sup>23</sup> The Duke of Pembroke owned a painting entitled St. John preaching in the Wilderness.<sup>24</sup>

Four paintings in each sample by Cornelis Poelenburg, (1586-1667) the meritorious and popular pupil of Bloemart, were recorded in the first sample, but surprisingly only one of these was a landscape. The others included a religious subject entitled Our Saviour with Joseph and Mary which was sold at auction by the art dealer Andrew Hay in 1725/6 for £12,00, another was a mythological history piece of Diana and Calisto which sold for £1.7.0 and lastly at Mr. Huggins' sale in 1745, a genre painting entitled A Lady making a Pen was recorded . A second sample, however listed three landscapes with prices ranging from £2.12.6 to £5.00.0. However a systematic collecting and storing of a small number of sales catalogues from the Houlditch collection showed how much the prices fluctuated. For example, other works included the sale of paintings by Poelenburgh at Andrew Hay's sale in 1726 entitled The Flight into Egypt which was bought by the Duke of Devonshire for a considerable sum of £20.0.0.<sup>25</sup> which is well above the mean and mode for landscape painting. Another sales catalogue included a landscape with a bacchanal... sold at John van Spangen's (1747/8) sale for £1.18.0. <sup>26</sup> Two more paintings at van Spangen's sale (1747/8) included, Fourteen small pictures of Our Saviour, the Virgin and ye twelve Apostles, small life.... which were purchased by [Mr.] Piggot for £8.16.0 and two small landscapes were

purchased by [Mr.] Bird for £8.8.0; and lastly a painting entitled Nymphs Bathing was purchased by Hamilton for £10.15.0 indicates that price paid was fairly consistent for the sale of an artist's work in the same sale.<sup>27</sup> Three landscapes were sold at Sir Andrew Fountain's sale in 1731, one of these was by an artist working in the style of Poelenburgh for £2.10.0 and a pair of landscapes sold for £12.01.0.<sup>28</sup> Such extreme variations in price for religious subject matter and landscapes seems to suggest that the Duke of Devonshire was prepared to risk £20.00 on a painting because it came from the noteworthy collection of John van Spangen, and was probably an original work. At the same sale the bacchanalian landscape sold for £1.18.0 suggests firstly that there were very few bidders for this subject<sup>29</sup> and secondly that buyers had little confidence in its authenticity, probably because there were numerous paintings of this kind of subject matter available in the market place which made it almost impossible for a collector to know which were the originals and which were fakes. This meant that buyers had a lack of confidence in paintings of this kind, so that they were only willing to risk small sums of money on these so-called 'trade-mark' paintings. It was the kind of discretionary spending which was somewhat of a gamble, but experience probably taught them that there were gains to be made in the long run particularly in cases when collectors discovered that they had acquired a genuine original which had been purchased for very little outlay but this was probably a rare event. This view will be discussed further in the summary and in the concluding remarks below.

Simpson's examination of some of the highest prices paid for Dutch paintings in the Houlditch sales revealed that prices paid for Poelenburgh's ranged in price from £21.00.0 to £52.00.0 at the most.<sup>30</sup> Lord Bridgewater paid £34.13.0 for a painting described simply

as A history piece; A landscape with figures was purchased by Lord Scarborough for £36.00.0 and another landscape with figures was bought by Lord Bridgewater for the grand sum of £52.00.0. In addition, Simpson added, a mythological history by Poelenburgh entitled The Feast of the Gods, purchased by Lord Doneraile for £21.05.0 at Samuel Paris's sale in 1742.<sup>31</sup> Returning to the summary of prices in Table 7 above which indicates that the latter Poelenburgh's were well above the mean prices for Italianate-Dutch paintings. Three of these works were purchased by Lord Bridgewater and Lord Scarborough from the Duke of Portland's sale on the 24th. February, 1722. It is impossible to judge whether these were authentic works or not, but it suggests that collectors of upper class rank were at least willing to risk larger sums of money particularly on paintings from noteworthy collections.

This analysis of prices paid for Poelenburgh's paintings suggests that price is dependent on two main factors, that is, the merit of the sellers collection, the disposable income and discretionary spending of the buyer, (that is, what income could be derived from investing in paintings compared to investing in stocks and bonds). The desire to own paintings by Poelenburg was undoubtedly due in part to the influence of the sales room activity, and was probably also affected by diffusion of knowledge about painters of merit through the publication of books about painting theory and practice.

In the early part of the century, John Savage's translation of Roger de Piles (1699) work with an added essay towards a British School of painters was perhaps one of the earliest eighteenth century sources which mentioned the works of Poelenburgh among many other Dutch and Flemish artists working in England. In the first quarter of the century Frederick Harms' (1742) Chronological listing of the most famous masters 'ancient and modern' also cited important

seventeenth century sources such as, Houbraken (1604) and Weyerman (1675)<sup>32</sup> and was also one of the many sources used by Horace Walpole in compiling his Anecdotes of Painting.... Vertue seems to have acquired a knowledge of Poelenburgh's work from visits to country houses as well as seventeenth and eighteenth century sources such as Sandrart, De Bie (pub.1649) and Houbraken(pub.1714). Vertue also noted a number of paintings by Poelenburgh in the inventory of Charles I's collection (dated 1687/8). Another valuable source of information about eighteenth century collecting was Thomas Martyn's 'The English Connoisseur' (1766) which gave a room by room description of paintings in the houses of both artistocratic and professional classes which had been collected during the first half of the century. Martyn is known to have obtained much information from R. & J.D. Dodsley, "London and Its Environs", (6 vols) which was first published in 1761,<sup>33</sup> and refers to collections which had been formed in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. Dodsley used Horace Walpoles 'Aedes Walpolianae' (1757) for a discussion of Houghton Hall, as well as the Catalogues of the collections of the Pictures of the Duke of Devonshire, General Guise, the late Sir Paul Methuen (1760), and lastly, the New Oxford Guide (1764) which included tours of the collections at Blenheim, Ditchley and Stowe. It will be recalled in the discussion above that Vertue in 1735 recorded a painting on an ebony cabinet at Leicester House by Steenwyck and Poelenburgh. Vertue noted that a painting by Steenwyck with figures by Poelenburgh dated 1631, in a sale of Mr. Southwell's collection, confirmed that these two artists had worked together.<sup>34</sup> Again in 1735 Vertue noted a number of paintings by Poelenburgh in the inventory of Charles I's collection, dated 1687/8 - A Madonna in the clouds with boys and roses; A landscape with satyrs and nymphs advancing; A small landscape painting with two naked wenches one on horseback; and lastly a small

biblical history entitled

The birth of Christ.<sup>35</sup> During a visit to Somerset House in 1737 Vertue noted a painting by Poelenburgh of The Queen of Bohemia's children in a landscape which had been at Whitehall and St. James, which had been sold for £25.00.0.<sup>36</sup> In 1739 at the Dutchess of Portlands house he observed:

"...A noble and most curious Ebony Cabinet richly adorned - bought at Earl of Arundel's Sale - (Stafford House) - contains paintings - in small on each drawer - a different story - pieces by Poelenburgh and Architecture by Steenwyck, the doors by B. van Bassan 1636 (of Antwerp) - Earl of Oxford and Lady - presented it to his daughter, Lady Margaret Dutchess of Portland - "<sup>37</sup>

Thomas Martyn made the following observation at Devonshire House, Picadilly, at the home of Charles Jennens, Handel's parton, who owned several Poelenburghs. These included A Flight into Egypt, two landscapes, and The Deluge. Paul Methuen's collection contained A Bacchanal and A landscape with naked figures. At Sir Gregory Page's Martyn again noted a painting entitled Offerings of the Kings. Lord Scarsdale at Kedleston, Derbyshire owned Poelenburgh's A flight into Egypt.<sup>38</sup>

On 2nd September 1768 the same painting attracted the attention of Horace Walpole during his visits to country seats which he described as "a pretty little Poelenburgh".<sup>39</sup> In 1770 Walpole noted that there were two very pretty Poelenburgh's in the collection of the Countess of Dysart at Ham House, Richmond. At Hampton Court on the 12th September, 1784, Walpole observed three or four paintings by Poelenburgh, one of these he described as Lot and his daughters.<sup>40</sup>

The frequency distribution indicates that paintings by Alexander Keirinckx (1600-1652) were rare in eighteenth century sales. At Mr. Glovers sale in 1744/5 an unpriced painting by Keirinckx described as A landscape with figures by Poelenburgh was listed. (See

appendix at the end of this chapter). There is no other reference to this master's work in either my own systematic selection or in Simpson's study. However this artist is not to be confused with his namesake J.C. (Jacob or Johann) Keirincx (also called Carings or Cierings) (c.1590-1646) who was described by Walpole as a German painter working in the reign of Charles 1. George Vertue, described a painting by the former Keirincx which appeared in a sale in 1745 :

[...in a sale of pictures] - a landscape painted on board - representing woody trees of oak - freely and brightly touched - a light manner and some figures (small touched by Poelenburgh. His name often occurs in King Charles 1 Catalogue of pictures - by name of Carings - Several views of Royal Houses in Scotland painted for King Charles. His small figures are painted by Poelenburgh who was in England at the same time. This Carings painted also several views of palaces in England and Scotland. Pictures at Oatlands 13 Sept 1649 - two landscapes of the Kings Houses in Scotland]. This painting sold for £12.00.0 in public sale.<sup>41</sup>

In another entry Vertue wrote that several prints and drawings by Carings [Keirincx] were sold in auction sales. These included,

"... - long views - one of Parliament House and Westminster Bridge by the R. Thames, drawn easily and freely, washed and pen, dated 1624".<sup>42</sup>

Paintings of Italianate landscapes by the droll painter Pieter van Laer (Haarlem 1592-?1642) were rare in sales throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth century. In a recent exhibition catalogue Alan Chong (1987) noted that paintings by second generation Italianates achieved the highest prices in Holland at the end of the seventeenth century, in which paintings by Both and van Laer reached some of the highest prices.<sup>43</sup>

A single landscape painting by van Laer appeared in the random sample (1) at John Verelsts sale in 1718, but no price was mentioned, and therefore little can be said about the relative popularity of this artist's work. Not even a single painting by van Laer was selected in a systematic listing of paintings in eleven of the Houlditch Sales

Catalogues; and again Simpson's Study failed to list works by this master.

Paintings by another Italianate-Dutch master Jan Asselijn (Diemen c.1615 - Amsterdam) first appeared in eighteenth century sales but his paintings were generally rare. Since only a single painting was represented and very little additional information could be gleaned from either a systematic recording of data or from the random samples, it is impossible to show a range of prices for this artist's work. However a sale of a view to L. Irwin at Paris's sale in 1740 for £11.00.0 seems to be an average figure for Dutch landscape painting, (See Appendix).

A total of six landscape paintings in the samples represented the oeuvre of Herman Swanevelt, the noteworthy pupil of Claude Lorraine. The prices ranged from as little as 18 shillings, to £2.14.0 for a landscape with a fountain, and £7.12.0 for a landscape with figures bought by Mr. Anderson at Lord Orford's sale. The highest price paid was £17.17.0 for a painting described as a fine landscape which was sold by the auctioneer Mr. Blackwood at a sale in 1754. Since there were actually many omissions in regard to the recording of names of buyers it was difficult to make an assessment concerning the vertical diffusion of this artist's work on the basis of price and social class status, but it appears that the sellers and buyers represented a mixed group of wealthy artistocrats, financiers, merchants and professionals.

Further information about the prices and the popularity for collecting works by Swanevelt can be deduced from my own systematic listing of paintings appearing in a small number of sales catalogues which showed prices which compared favourably with the above. At Andrew Hay's sale in 1725/6 paintings entitled A landscape with

figures sold for £13.18.0 and a view of Constantine's Arch in Rome sold for £15.15.0. <sup>44</sup> Two more landscapes at sales in 1746 and 1747 brought prices in the lower range at £5.05.0<sup>45</sup> and £3.03.0<sup>46</sup> respectively. It is not known whether these were smaller paintings than the former ones , but the titles certainly indicate that preference for certain subject matter might have been the principal reason for the vast difference in the price levels. Simpson's analysis however, failed to include a single painting by Swanevelt. The popularity for this master's work can be deduced from Vertue's notes, and Martyn's publication. In 1739 Vertue recorded a painting by Swanevelt at Houghton Hall the residence of Prime Minister Sir Robert Walpole <sup>47</sup> The same painting was listed by Thomas Martyn in 1766 which he described as a Landscape with figures dancing. At Charles Jennens house, Martyn noted three landscapes by Swanvelt;<sup>48</sup> and at Chiswick the house first built by Lord Burlington (later owned by the Duke of Devonshire), Martyn listed a landscape by Swanevelt.<sup>49</sup> In 1761 Walpole recorded a landscape painting by Swanevelt at Lord Royston's in St. Jame's. <sup>50</sup>

Two landscape paintings in each style by Jan Both appeared in the sales catalogues. (See Appendix) In Sample 1 the only priced painting was a landscape with figures by Both and Bodwyn which sold to an unnamed buyer for £2.7.6. at Andrew Hay's sale in 1739. In sample 2, a landscape with figures sold for £22.01.0 at Paris's 1743/4 and was purchased by [Mr.] Forth. Again this is another example of the way in which prices varied from well above the mean (£7.12) on the one hand to well below the mean and modal values.

Simpson's study of the highest priced Dutch paintings, listed two landscapes by Both which were sold by Bragge in 1749 and again in 1758. One of these paintings was sold to the Earl of Stamford for as much as £52.10.0 <sup>51</sup> and the other was purchased by Lord Anson at the



highest figure for a Both - at £53.13.0.<sup>52</sup> Returning again to Table 7 Simpson's study shows the upper end of the market, - a few of the most expensive paintings which could only be purchased by aristocratic and upper class collectors .

In a systematic listing of all Dutch paintings a few of the sales in the same set of catalogues showed that the range of prices for paintings by Jan Both varied considerably. For example, in Sir James Thornhill's sale in 1734/5 prices ranged from as little as £1.07.0 to £4.17.0 <sup>53</sup> while, on the other hand in the Duke of Portland's sale in 1722 paintings by Both sold for £30.00.0 and £27.00.0 respectively.<sup>54</sup> This range in prices suggests that price was affected by such factors as the quality of the paintings and the provenance of the collection. There is evidence to suggest that paintings by Both were collected by a wider group of aristocrats, gentry and professionals. This becomes apparent also from eighteenth century sources. In the first quarter of the period George Vertue noted that Sir Paul Methuen owned a fine landscape by Both.<sup>55</sup> In 1766 Martyn described the latter work as A landscape with a Baptism of Queen Candice's Eunuch by St.Philip.<sup>56</sup> Charles Jennens, benefactor of the arts, owned a number of landscapes by Both - one described as a landscape by Both and Bodwyn and another entitled A view of Solftara by Berchem and Both.<sup>57</sup> Paintings by Both were also among the paintings collected by the Duke of Devonshire at Devonshire House in Piccadilly, and the latter's house in Chiswick. <sup>58</sup>

Italianate landscapes by Nicholaes Berchem were very popular during the eighteenth century. This is evident from the number of paintings by Berchem which appeared in the sales catalogues at prices which ranged from as little as £2.00.0 to the considerable figure of £89.00.0. A total of nine paintings by Nicholas Berchem were recorded in two samples but not all of them were landscapes; some

included such subjects as a Portrait of an old man, a woman and a child which was sold at Prestages in 1756, but no price was recorded. (See Appendix) The highest priced painting in the sample was a landscape with figures and cattle purchased by Mr. Pinchbeck for £8.12.6 from Lord Orfords sale in 1751. Another painting describing the same subject matter was sold by Mr. Kent for Signor Borri (1759) and purchased by Mr. Wood for £4.05.0. A Landscape with Nymphs and Satyrs was sold at Mrs. Mary Edwards sale in 1746 for £5.05.0 and at Mr. van Spangen's sale in 1742/3. A round landscape with cattle was sold for as little as £2.12.6, (see appendix). Thus prices ranged from a low £2.12.6, to prices in excess of £8.00.0 for two paintings. On the other hand Frank Simpson's selection of six paintings by Berchem, showed that prices by this master reached levels which were comparable with paintings by Rembrandt and Wouwerman.<sup>59</sup> The highest prices paid for Berchem's work was for a painting at Dr. Bragge's sale in 1755 entitled Woman with milk, one milking, shepherd, etc which was purchased by Mr. Swymmer for £89.05.0.<sup>60</sup> Paul Methuen purchased a painting by Berchem of a Landscape with figures and cattle for £53.00.0 at the Duke of Portland's sale in 1722, which George Vertue recorded when he visited Methuen's house soon after the sale.<sup>61</sup> My own systematic garnering of Dutch paintings from a smaller number of sales identified four paintings by Berchem in the Duke of Portland's sale ranged in price from £5.07.6 to £53.00.0;<sup>62</sup> at John van Spangen's sale in 1747/8 two landscapes sold for £3.05.0 and £7.07.0.<sup>63</sup>

In summary then, although prices selected by Simpson represent the upper level of a minority of paintings, the summary of prices for Italianate-Dutch paintings from sample 1 and 2 in Table 7 above shows

that the majority of paintings (that is, sixteen (16) paintings) were valued at about £5.00 and five paintings valued at an above average price of £10.00. when the mode ( as a class) is taken as the best measure of the average.

Concerning the vertical diffusion of paintings to lower income groups a paucity of information made it very difficult to determine class membership of collectors in the sample, but many of them were members of a growing professional group who were purchasing paintings at auction sales for pleasure and as a hedge against inflation. The sketchy information suggests that known buyers like Dr Mead, Dr Bragge, Mr Scawen, Charles Jennens and Roger Harenc; and unknown names such as Pinchbeck (probably Christopher Pinchbeck, clockmaker to the Crown), Mr. Wood. van Hawken, Trevor and Cazulet <sup>64</sup> were willing to spend small sums on paintings at the lower end of the market where the gains might prove to be higher than expected and the risks were low. Prices above the mean - that is, from £8.00.0 to £50.00 or more appear to have been purchased by a wealthier group of collectors which included such names as Franklyn; Sir R. Grosvenor; Sir Paul Methuen, Mr. Batt, Armstrong, Swymmer, Mayne.<sup>65</sup> However, there was no strict division based on class since there are examples of aristocratic collectors buying paintings at the lower end of the market where there were opportunities for money to be made particularly if the painting was discovered to be an original. There is evidence to support this claim in the research by Pears (1984) who noted that Roger Harenc a man of 'moderate fortune', purchased a total of 239 paintings mostly at auction sales between 1734 and 1760,<sup>66</sup> and although it was not a collection of first rank it was sold by his son in 1764 for a total of £3,799.14.6. Pears calculated the compound percentage interest per annum and came to the conclusion that the rate of return was 4.18 per cent on the total amount. On the other hand, Dr. Mead's collection

gained a mere 3.0 per cent over a twenty-seven year period, which was compared with 3.5 to 4.0 percent per annum return on investments in Government bonds. Using Mead's income on pictures as a guide Pears concluded that there were "...only very small financial incentives to collect pictures...".<sup>57</sup> This argument is contradictory as the Harenc collection showed that the opportunity cost earned on paintings was in fact slightly higher at 0.68 to 0.18 per cent per annum than government bonds. Furthermore, when the Harenc collection was broken down into schools of painting the figures indicated that Italian paintings yielded 3.4 per cent, French paintings 2.6 per cent and paintings of Flemish and Dutch origin showed the highest return at 5.04 per cent. <sup>58</sup> Translated into economic terms this suggests that the greatest opportunity cost to collectors was gained by trading in Dutch or Flemish paintings representing 1.54 per cent at the most to 1.0 per cent above government bonds. Furthermore, Pears' analysis of the total price range from the Harenc sale contradicts his statement that paintings offered little investment incentive because it shows that the greatest financial gains were made by purchasing the cheapest paintings, that is, "...paintings in the £0-5 group yielded an average of 6.54%, [as indicated by Dutch painting above] whereas those over £20 produced a net loss of -0.69% ."<sup>59</sup> This analysis simply reinforces my previous statement that the greatest opportunities were gained by investing in Dutch and Flemish paintings which tended to be lower in price than other European paintings as shown in detail by the random sampling of sale catalogues in this chapter. There were naturally greater risks to be taken when investing in paintings at the highest prices due to forgery of fashionable originals; fewer buyers with the discretionary income to purchase paintings in the upper price range and therefore less competition would have resulted in a net loss to the collector for an investment in paintings over £20. or more.

This situation probably encouraged collectors to hold onto these paintings for longer periods of time so that higher priced paintings became longer term investments, compared with short-term trading of cheaper priced Dutch paintings. Statistical summaries of total prices paid for paintings by country of origin for the period 1711-1759 is included in the Appendix to this chapter.

The propensity to acquire paintings by Berchem is evident from the high prices paid at auction sales, while on the other hand there were also paintings ascribed to this master which were probably not first rank paintings, which meant that there was very little competition in the sale room. These latter paintings probably appealed to collectors who wanted to acquire paintings by masters at reasonable prices.

This apparent popularity for Berchem's work was not shared by art theorists. Roger de Piles (1677) and Buckeridge (1706) for example, discussed the works of Italianate-Dutch masters, Poelenburg and Wynants but failed to mention Berchem. Even Horace Walpole's account of the most influential old masters and contemporaries in England did not include a single line on Berchem. However, as the eighteenth century progressed and the knowledge and demand for art grew, it appears this situation was gradually rectified. Two eighteenth century sources certainly satisfied the requirements for greater biographical detail and accuracy. Frederick Harms 'Les Tables Historiques et Chronologiques des plus fameux Peintres Anciens et Modernes' (1742) for example, provided a biographical listing of the most meritorious forerunners and contemporary artists of the eighteenth century which included Nicholaes Berchem.<sup>70</sup> In addition, Thomas Martyn's 'The English Connoisseur' (1766),<sup>71</sup> provided the reader with a room by room description of paintings belonging to some of the most prestigious collections in and around London. It has already been

noted that Martyn's account mentioned paintings by Berchem at John Barnard's residence and at Devonshire House.<sup>72</sup> Charles Jennens owned a landscape painting by Moucheron with figures by Berchem, and in the same collection A Landscape with cattle, also another entitled ' Morning and evening and another entitled a View of Solfatera by Berchem and Both.<sup>73</sup> At Sir Gregory Page's house Martyn listed A hunting piece;<sup>74</sup> at Lord Scarsdale's A landscape with rocks and donkeys;<sup>75</sup> and lastly he noted A landscape with cattle, travellers and horses at the Duke of Pembroke's at Wilton.<sup>76</sup>

George Vertue's observations (published after 1760 by Horace Walpole) must have been an invaluable source of information to eighteenth century collectors. As early as 1722 Vertue recorded a painting by Berchem at Sir Paul Methuen's house; and again during a visit to Leicester House in 1735 he noted " ... a fine Cabinet of Ebony. the little panels each painted by Poelenburgh, Berghem and the inside was a church in perspective by Steenwyck ..." <sup>77</sup> shows a keen interest in masters of seventeenth century Dutch painting.

Paintings by noteworthy landscape masters Jan Weenix, Jan Wynants and Phillip Wouermans, all seventeenth century contemporaries, appear to have been among the most highly prized paintings in English eighteenth century collections. Recently Bob Haak (1984) described Jan Baptiste Weenix as "... a second painter of great distinction who worked in Utrecht after the mid-century." <sup>78</sup> In Amsterdam he was a pupil of Claes Moyaert and in Utrecht he came under the influence of Abraham Bloemaert. From 1641 he visited Italy became a member of the Bentveugels ("Birds of a feather"), a society for Dutch artists in Rome along with Jan Asselijn and Karel du Jardin.

Paintings by Weenix appear to be rare in auction sales in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Only three landscapes were listed in the sales catalogues for the period. In Sample # 2 a single

unpriced painting entitled A seaport, with architecure, a caravan, and Weenix's family was sold by Anthony Motteux in 1714. In 1722 a painting with a similiar title was sold by the Duke of Portland for £140.00.0.<sup>79</sup> It must have been a particularly interesting painting for its historical importance, and the same painting was selected by Simpson for his article. In addition to the random samples above, a systematic selection of Dutch paintings from the Houlditch catalogues, showed that there were paintings by Weenix in the lower price range. These included A landscape with figures from the Duke of Portland's sale (1722), which was purchased by Lord Bridgewater for £34.0.0.<sup>80</sup> In the same sale, but at the lower end of the scale, A landscape with figures sold for £8.15.0.<sup>81</sup> Referring once more to Table 7 above these prices were still well above the mean and modal values for Italianate-Dutch landscape paintings.

Landscape paintings in Wijnants' early period were similiar to those of Decker and Dubois, but later, the introduction of southern light to his paintings of dunes, shows the unmistakable influence of Italianate painting. Haak noted that Wijnants was a prolific painter in his own time but this was not borne out by the sales catalogues.<sup>82</sup> Instead, paintings by this artist appeared to be rare and reached prices which ranged from lows of £4.00.0 to above £60.00.0.<sup>83</sup> Since Wouwermans and Wijnants influenced each other, their paintings are often similiar in style and subject matter and thus, it is possible that without sufficient provenance eighteenth century collectors may have confused the work of one for the other.

Prices for the above mentioned paintings in the sample ranged from £2.00.0 to prices above £4.00.0 and purchases were made by [Mr] Andrews. The highest at £10.00.0 purchased by [Mr.] Banks, (see the summary in the Appendix of this chapter). A random sampling of paintings for this study produced no paintings by this artist, but on

the other hand, there were as many as three in the second sample. A systematic listing of all paintings in a few sales produced two paintings: at the Duke of Portlands sale (1722) A landscape with figures was sold to van Diest for £10.10.0<sup>24</sup> and at John van Spangen's sale (1747/8) A landscape with figures was purchased by Bird for £8.15.0.<sup>25</sup> Simpson's study mentioned two more : at Bragges sale (1749) A large landscape was bought by the Duke of Ancaster for £63.0.0;<sup>26</sup> and again at Dr Bragges sale (on) 8 March 1758 A landscape with figures by Adriaen van de Velde was sold to Sir R. Grosvenor for £58.16.0.<sup>27</sup>

Since there is no additional information concerning the size and the quality of these paintings, it seems that price and the origin of the paintings are the only variables which could be used to determine the reasons why there was such a wide variation in the price of Wijnants work at auction sales. The Dukes Ancaster and Grosvenor purchased paintings from the dealer Bragge in the 1750s paying prices of over £50.00, well above prices paid on the average. Such high prices at auction sales suggests also that one or two highly regarded pieces must have attracted attention of moneyed collectors, who were willing to compete against each other to obtain the piece. This seems to be a reflection of the market and the confidence of the buyers in the attribution and the aesthetic merit of a particular work. On the other hand, prices of £4.00 and less were below the mode for Italianate-Dutch paintings which tends to suggest that the purchasers at auction sales had no confidence in the authenticity of these paintings, or that they were not highly prized for some unknown aesthetic reason.

The most popular artist in the eighteenth century was undoubtedly Philips Wouwermans whose paintings repeatedly achieved the highest prices at auction sales. A recent writer on seventeenth



century Dutch painting noted that "Wouermans enjoyed enormous success during his life time; his work was sought after and commanded high prices."<sup>88</sup> This popularity for Wouermans was not reflected in the random and systematic sampling of the Houlditch sales catalogues. The findings indicate that paintings by the latter artist were rare in sales during the seventeenth and eighteenth century. There was not even a single painting by Wouermans in the first sample, and only one in the second. (see Appendix) The latter painting was described as A landscape with figures and horses which [Mr.] Gascoigne purchased for £39.18.0 at Sir Luke Schaub's sale in 1758, and although this is only one example a comparison with other prices indicates that this seems to have been an average price for a Wouermans in the auction sales for the period.

Another source of information came from a systematic garnering of the Houlditch sales catalogues which revealed a small but exclusive set of buyers and sellers of landscapes by Wouermans. These included A hunting piece, in the Duke of Portland's sale in 1722, which was acquired by D. Kent [Duke of Kent?] for £32.00.<sup>89</sup> In addition, a painting entitled A landscape with figure and horses sold at Andrew Hay's sale for £29.08.6.<sup>90</sup>

A wider range of prices is evident at John van Spangen's sale in 1748. There were three paintings by Wouermans, the first, described as "A landscape with cattle" was purchased by Captain Forrest for as little as £2.15.0;<sup>91</sup> the second, A return from hunting purchased by [Mr.] Bouverie for £31.10.0, well above the average price paid for Dutch landscapes.<sup>92</sup> By far the highest priced painting was for A large picture of a return from hunting which was sold to an unnamed buyer for the grand sum of £126.00.<sup>93</sup> A wide range of prices paid in the sale room suggests that paintings by Wouermans were highly prized by collectors. Most of the Wouermans were priced well

above the mean price for Italianate-Dutch landscapes, and a few of the most highly priced paintings were purchased by aristocrats and including the Prince of Wales. Lady Cardigan purchased a picture measuring 24" by 30" entitled A Morning. Gentlemen going out Hunting at John de Pestere's sale (1756) for £26.15.0.<sup>24</sup>

The highest price recorded by Simpson was for a companion piece to a painting entitled, A stag hunting which was purchased by the Prince of Wales for £110.05 at M. de Piles' sale on the 30th. April 1742.<sup>25</sup>

The Prince was a keen and strong buyer, and purchased both paintings for a total of £183.15.0. for the Wouwermans pair.

Summary of Prices Paid for Italianate - Dutch Landscape Paintings.

Returning to the statistical summary of prices for Italianate-Dutch landscapes at auction sales between 1711 and 1759, the random samples indicate that more than half of the paintings fell into the lower price range from £2.00.0 - just above the £5.00.0 midpoint (20 paintings). Only eight paintings were above £5.00.0, with only two paintings falling around the £20.00 mid point. A single painting reached the £40.00.0 (midpoint, as a class). Using price as an indication of value, these latter paintings were probably the work of a few of the most outstanding landscape artists. For example, a painting by Jan Wijnants brought £10.10.0 in 1757, and another by Jan Asselijn was sold for £11.00.6 at Paris's sale in 1740. At the upper reaches a painting by Herman Swanevelt was purchased in 1754 for £17.17.0 and finally the highest price was awarded to a painting by Wouwermans for £39.18.0.

Again a systematic sampling tended to agree with the results of the random sampling above in demonstrating that a wide variety of prices existed, with most of these falling in the lower price range, under £10.00.0

Simpson's study of the highest priced paintings showed only those paintings at the upper reaches stretching well beyond mean price. This information was useful because it indicated that only a very few of the wealthiest buyers could afford to pay high prices to purchase paintings from the most noteworthy sales. The most prominent sales of the period was The Duke of Portland's sale (1722), William van Huls Sale (1722), The Duke of Chandos's Sale (1747) and John van Spangen's sale (1748). There were a number of purchasers of paintings at sales, some known and some unknown, who purchased paintings at above average prices. These included names of Continental origin such as Mr. van Neck a financier and merchant, Mr Gascoigne, Mr Barnard, Mr L. Irwin, Pinchbeck and Banks and since it is not possible to check the class status for each example, the researcher assumes that most of the sellers and buyers were undoubtedly members of the professions. At times members of the gentry and aristocratic classes (for example, Gen. Cholmondeley) also purchased paintings at below average prices, because although the risks were high the initial cost of the purchase was low and buyers undoubtedly made choices according to the opportunity cost gained, that is, which avenue of investment would give the best return in the future. High prices paid for Italianate-Dutch masters was probably a reflection of the popularity and merit of paintings of particular artists. The evidence from recent research suggests that at the same time prices which were well above the mean made them so exclusive that there were few bidders and thus as a result very little competition.<sup>96</sup> and therefore in the short-term they appeared to have had smaller inflatory gain or profit.<sup>97</sup> On the other hand, prices below or at mean levels required little initial cost, but since the competition at this end of the market was high it meant that there were gains to be made through the short-term trade in buying and selling paintings.<sup>98</sup>

### 5.2.5 Naturalistic Dutch Landscape Paintings

The term 'Naturalistic Dutch' has been used to separate the paintings of Dutch artists working exclusively in Holland, painting naturalistic scenes of Dutch country side, the coast, topographical scenes and included the so-called 'tonal phase' in Dutch painting - the work of van Goyen and van Ruisdael. Sometimes there is no strict rule, since Italianate-Dutch influence can also be seen in the work of some of the so-called naturalistic artists but more particularly in the work of Adriaen van de Velde.

A summary of prices in Table 8 below shows that the average price paid for naturalistic landscapes was just over £5.00 (taking the mode as a class representing what the majority of people paid). It is interesting to find that collectors paid more on the average for Naturalistic Dutch landscapes than those in the Italianate-Dutch style. About half of the paintings fell into the price class ranging from £0 to £5.00 with the majority (9 paintings) falling around the mode; and the other half are priced from £10.00 to £25.00.

TABLE 8

A STATISTICAL SUMMARY OF THE PRICES PAID  
FOR NATURALISTIC DUTCH LANDSCAPES LISTED IN AUCTION SALES  
1711-1760.\*

| N    | MEAN  | MEDIAN | TRMEAN | STDEV | SEMEAN |
|------|-------|--------|--------|-------|--------|
| 26   | 11.21 | 7.92   | 10.14  | 9.93  | 1.95   |
| MIN  | MAX   | Q1     | Q3     |       |        |
| 0.85 | 47.25 | 4.69   | 15.71  |       |        |

HISTOGRAM\* of the prices listed in the Appendix  
N = 26

| Midpoint | Count   |
|----------|---------|
| 0        | 3 ***   |
| 5        | 9 ***** |
| 10       | 5 ***** |
| 15       | 3 ***   |
| 20       | 4 ****  |
| 25       | 1 *     |
| 30       | 0       |
| 35       | 0       |
| 40       | 0       |
| 45       | 1 *     |

The following discussion of the most frequently mentioned artists in the sales catalogues has been handled synchronically in an attempt to determine whether age of a painting had an effect on the price paid at auction sales. One of the earliest artists represented in the sample was van der Cabel [also called Arent Arentz. (c. 1585/6-1631)], a specialist of frozen rivers and fishing scenes in and around Amsterdam in a style similiar to Hendrick Avercamp. It is difficult to determine whether painting in the sample was the work of Arent Arentz (van der Cabel) or the work of another artist of the same name (Adriaen van der Cabel) which Harms also listed in his biographical dictionary.<sup>99</sup> A random selection produced an unpriced landscape painting which was sold at Sir Robert Gayer's sale in 1716. In addition, a systematic garnering of the sales catalogues showed that prices ranged from £2.17.6 to £25.5.0 at Andrew Hay's sale in 1725/6.<sup>100</sup> At Mr Richardson's sale in 1746/7 a painting entitled A long landscape with a sea port was purchased by Mr. Harenc for the Duke of Rutland for £2.2.0.<sup>101</sup> In private collections Martyn noted that Charles Jennens owned a sea-piece and landscape by van der Cabel.<sup>102</sup>

Naturalistic panoramas of Dutch country-side characterized the work of Lucas van Uden an artist of Flemish origin, who lived and worked in Delft until his death in 1672. Paintings by van Uden seem to have been particularly rare in the seventeenth century, but small numbers of his paintings appeared in eighteenth century sales catalogues.<sup>103</sup> Two unpriced paintings by Van Uden were listed in Mr Scheemaker's sale 1756. One of these was entitled A landscape with figures and another also described as A landscape was listed in Mr Glovers sale in 1744/5.<sup>104</sup> Van Uden does not appear to have been very well known during this period. Frederick Harms, using Houbraken and Weyermann as sources, appears to have been the only reference

listing Van Uden during the period.<sup>105</sup> However, an examination of collections shows the extent to which paintings by this artist were collected in practice. Very few paintings by Van Uden were in fact collected, but sales catalogues of the 1780s use his name frequently in advertising the paintings in noteworthy collections. Only a single collection, in Martyn's listing contained paintings by Van Uden, notably Charles Jennens' collection which was weighted in favour of Dutch painting including two landscapes by van Uden, which had no doubt been purchased some years earlier in London auction sales.<sup>106</sup>

Aert van Neer (1603-1677) was one of the few masters of landscape remaining in Amsterdam in the 1630's. By this time, Avercamp had already left the city and Cabel died in 1631.<sup>107</sup> What marks van der Neer's oeuvre is that paintings by this master were already quite rare by 1647. However, evidence from the sales catalogues suggests that he was still producing paintings until about 1658. After a brief period of inactivity he resumed painting from 1662 onwards until his death in 1677, however, from this time on his paintings showed a marked decline in skill.<sup>108</sup>

The sales catalogues indicate that paintings by van der Neer were generally rare during the eighteenth century which can be judged by the fact that a systematic garnering of a few sales did not turn up a single painting by him. Two unpriced paintings selected at random in Sample 1 were both moonlight pieces, one of these had been in the possession of Lord Pomfret<sup>109</sup> and Lord Baltimore, (1758);<sup>110</sup> the other was owned by Mr. da Costa a Jewish Merchant living in London. The second sample produced two paintings - firstly, a noteworthy Evening scene containing figures by van Ostade which was purchased by M. Walters for an unspectacular £12.12.0; and secondly, A morning scene at Mr. de Pestors sale (1756) which Mr Townsend bought for an above average price of £47.05.0. This appears to have been the

highest price paid for a van der Neer, which was just above average compared to prices paid for Italianate Dutch pieces by Wouwermans or Weenix. Simpson's selection of four of the highest priced van der Neer landscapes' included the sale of A landscape with a ferry boat by the auctioneer Blackwood to Sir E. Littleton for £24.13.6;<sup>111</sup> A moonlight was purchased by the merchant-financier Sir Joshua van Neck for £25.4.0 at Blackwood's sale in 1755.<sup>112</sup> In 1757 the art-dealer and auctioneer Dr Bragge sold a painting entitled A summer evening to Curzon (probably Lord Curzon) for £32.11.0,<sup>113</sup> and on the second day of Bragge's sale in 1759, Lord Coventry purchased A moon light for £32.0.6.<sup>114</sup> Although one is unable to judge the quality of these performances it seems that all of the sales took place from 1745 onwards and prices narrowly ranged from £24.13.6 (in 1745) to £32.11.0. (in 1757).

It is surprising that few eighteenth century sources discussed van der Neer's work. Frederick Harms (1748) referred to van der Neer in his biographical dictionary, which he had obtained from Houbraken<sup>115</sup>. More information however was available through Martyn (1766), who noted that Bouchier Cleeve at Footscray Place in Kent owned a moonlight landscape by van de Neer.<sup>116</sup> The public were permitted to view this collection which was open every Thursday during the summer months, and an entrance fee was required.<sup>117</sup> At Charles Jennens' residence Martyn described as many as five van der Neer's - A sunset and four moonlight pieces one of which was described as being an "unusual landscape" painting.<sup>118</sup>

In the 1750's there is evidence that the diffusion knowledge about van der Neer's work was fostered through the production of engravings after his works. The engraver and art dealer Arthur Pond widened his range of published prints to include Dutch landscapes. The first pair published in 1744 included A View from One-Tree-Hill

in Greenwich by J. Wood after the painting by the Flemish artist Peter Tillemans then in the collection of the Earl of Radnor. The second pair contained A moonlight by Francis Vivares (published 1751) after the painting by Aert van der Neer in the collection of a city financier Christopher Batt.<sup>119</sup>

Paintings by the influential Jan van Goyen (1596- 1656) were rare in auction sales during the seventeenth and eighteenth century. At Mr Paris's sale in 1738/9 A landscape and figures by van Goyen and van der Neer was purchased for £4.15.0 by Mr Wyndham (probably Sir William or his son Charles, later Earl of Somerset). (see Appendix) A systematic sampling of the Houlditch Catalogues shows that Van Goyen's paintings were most frequently collected by John van Spangen. A sale of this collector's paintings in 1747/8 listed three paintings; the lowest price paid was for A conversation by Ostade, with a view by Goen (sic) bought by Harene for £1.1.0; and on 12th Feb. 1748, Knapton bid £12.12.0 for A view of Scheveling (sic) at John van Spangen's sale.<sup>120</sup> Simpson's study of the highest prices also included the latter paintings (which seem to have been the highest prices paid for a van Goyen). The lowest price was for A view on the Rhine which was sold at Rongents sale in 1758 for £3.04.0.<sup>121</sup> Concerning private collections, Martyn's book highlighted the fact that van Goyen's landscapes were not widely collected during the period, and only three van Goyen's were listed in a single collection belonging to Charles Jennens.<sup>122</sup>

Paintings by the two Ruysdael's were very difficult to differentiate since the spelling of the name varied considerably. In some cases it was spelt Ruysdael, or Rysdael or Ruysdale and Ruysdael. The accepted spelling of Salomon van Ruysdael (originally Salomon de Go(o)yer(ie) from Gooiland) is Ruijsdael or Ruyesdael. On the other hand Jacob van Ruysdael was spelt Rijsdael (in contemporary documents



and later Ruysdael or Ruijsdael, but he himself used Ruisdael). Subject matter was the only clue to the authorship of paintings by the Ruisdael's. For example Salomon van Ruysdael, (1600/1603- 1670) (the uncle of Jacob van Ruisdael) was mainly a specialist in river and coastal scenes, while Jacob painted wooded landscapes, waterfalls and water mills. In terms of composition and handling of atmospheric conditions Salomon's work recalls the tonal landscapes and river scenes of van Goyen. A painting entitled A landscape with figures with the name written "Sol. Ruysdale", was the only painting in the sample which could be positively identified as the work of this master. It was purchased by Mr O. Bryan for £7.7.0 at Bragge's sale in 1750/1. Another painting at Dr. Bragges sale in 1757 described as a Seapiece sold for £7.17.6, and there was another in this price range in the second sample (See Appendix). The samples suggest that paintings by Salomon were rare during the eighteenth century and this seems to be borne out by the literary evidence. The only reference to paintings by Ruysdael came from Thomas Martyn's description of the contents of just two collections, - the Duke of Devonshire's house in Chiswick,<sup>123</sup> which contained a landscape by Ruysdael and Charles Jennens house in Holborn,<sup>124</sup> where there were as many as six paintings by Ruysdael. In the latter collection, Martyn noted at least three paintings described simply as "landscapes", another, entitled A chalk kiln, A view of Scheveling(sic)- [Scheveningen] a storm approaching, and A sea piece.<sup>125</sup>

On the other hand, relatively high frequencies in the first sample appear to indicate that paintings by Jacob van Ruisdael (1628/29-1682) were popular, but once again subject matter was the only guide to attribution since the first name was rarely recorded. There was a high propensity for landscapes with waterfalls which is reflected in the random sample. At Mr Blackwood's sale in 1757 a

waterfall was purchased by [Mr.] Cary for £21.00 , A small waterfall put up for sale at the auctioneer Langford's in 1748/9, sold for £5.0.0. At Blackwood's in 1748 A landscape with a waterfall was bought by Knobs for £6.20.0. (See Summary in Appendix) An independent and systematic survey of a small number of sales taken as part of this study, demonstrated that the range of prices was comparable with paintings by the Italianate - Dutch landscapists Poelenburgh and Svanevelt which have been discussed above. At the Duke of Portland's sale in 1722. a waterfall sold for £13.2.0.<sup>126</sup> The most information was derived from a single sale of John van Spangen's collection, sold by auction in 1747/8, which listed as many as sixteen paintings by Ruysdael (spelt 'Rysdale' in the Houlditch catalogues).<sup>127</sup> Once again it was difficult to determine whether these paintings were by the elder Ruysdael or van Ruisdael the latter's nephew. The lowest priced paintings included A landscape with figures bought by the dealer Blackwood for £5.5.0 and its companion, bought by Lord Londonderry for £9.5.0.<sup>128</sup> Another described as A view of Scheveling [sic.] (Scheveningen) was purchased by Mr. Harenc for £5.10.0. The medium range from £12.0.0 to £20.0.0 were purchased by collectors who belonged to a mixed group of aristocratic and professional backgrounds.<sup>129</sup> Among the highest priced paintings observed by Martyn at Charles Jennens', was a painting entitled A view of Schevening. a storm coming on which the latter purchased at Blackwood's sale a few years earlier for £17.17.0 <sup>130</sup> But this painting might have been by Salomon van Ruysdael. Looking back at John van Spangen's Sale (Mr.) East paid £26.10.0 for A landscape with Cattle. A painting described as A landscape by Ruisdael and figures by Wouwerman was purchased by Lord Petersham for £32.0.6, which appears to match prices paid for paintings by Wouwermans.<sup>131</sup> Furthermore , two more landscape paintings by Ruisdael with figures by Wouwermans

reached the highest prices at £46.4.0 and another for £46.14.6. and these were purchased by an unidentified buyer listed as (Mr.) Bolton.<sup>132</sup>

It is necessary to reiterate here that even Simpson (1953) study of the highest priced Dutch paintings from the Houlditch catalogues showed that there was a range in prices which suggests that the prices paid depended on the competition in the sale room.

Paintings by Meindert Hobbema (1638-1709) pupil of Jacob van Ruisdael appeared in auction sales in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Although paintings by Hobbema were considered to be outstanding, even in his own time, nonetheless he was regarded as being less versatile in terms of subject matter than Ruisdael.<sup>133</sup> Only a single painting by Hobbema appeared in the sample of seventeenth century sales catalogues which indicates that works by this artist were rare. Bragge's sale in 1750 listed a landscape painting by Hobbema which sold for £9.09.6. However, it appears that a lack of knowledge about this artist's work might also explain the relatively lower price for his paintings in the sample; £9.09.6 was paid for a painting of A landscape in Bragge's Sale (2nd day) in 1750. (See Appendix) Even a systematic selection of Dutch paintings in a few of the Houlditch sales did not even uncover a single painting by Hobbema. However, Simpson's study listed three paintings: among them A landscape with figures by Adriaen van de Velde was purchased by Sir E. Littleton for £48.6.0 at Bragge's sale in 1749 which was the highest price paid for a landscape in the samples. Two more paintings by Hobbema were sold for considerably lower prices. At Blackwood's sale in 1755 Charles Jennens purchased A landscape with figures for £15.4.6.; and lastly, in 1759 Reynolds (probably Sir Joshua Reynolds) purchased A Landscape at Bragge's sale for £13.0.0.<sup>134</sup> The rarity of

Hobbema's paintings in the seventeenth century sales is confirmed by Alan Chong's report that there was an almost total absence in seventeenth century Dutch inventories of works by Hobbema, in spite of his productive career in Amsterdam.<sup>135</sup> The evidence suggests that lack of knowledge was probably the primary reason for the relatively low prices for Hobbema's paintings in early eighteenth century sales.

Adriaen van de Velde (1636-1672), can be considered to be one of the most versatile painters of naturalistic Dutch landscapes. At the same time his work owes much to the inspiration of the Dutch - Italianates, - Jan Wijnants in Haarlem and Philips Wouwermans, and other such as Claes Berchem, and Paulus Potter.

There were two pairs of landscapes by Van de Velde in sample 1. The most expensive was a pair of landscapes with figures at John van Spangen's sale in 1747/8 which was purchased by (Mr.) Bird at £17.17.0. At Bragge's Sale of 1743 two landscapes with figures and cattle sold for as little as £2.12.6. The second sample recorded a landscape and figures for what appears to have been a fair price for his work at £12.12.0 (see Summary in Appendix). A systematic survey of prices for Van de Velde's work demonstrated that in John van Spangen's sale of 1747/8 there were as many as five paintings by Adriaen van de Velde (including the painting for £17.17.0 described above) came under the hammer. Prices ranged from £1.18.0 for a lesser landscape of A man driving a cow, bought by Thompson, to £22.1.0 for a painting of A view with figures purchased by Montgomery.<sup>136</sup>

Very few of the eighteenth century writers mentioned the work of Adriaen van de Velde. Harms' biographical reference for collectors, listed van de Velde using Houbraken and Weyerman as sources.<sup>137</sup> The seventeenth century analysis in the previous chapter indicates that works by this artist were rarely collected until the

eighteenth century. Martyn writing in the early 1760's noted A painting of cattle at Footscray Place in Kent the seat of Bouchier Cleeve.<sup>138</sup> At Charles Jennens' he described a Frost piece a landscape by Verboom containing figures by van de Velde.<sup>139</sup> Van de Velde's natural proclivity for figure painting must have earned him great notoriety, so that he was often invited to paint figures in the landscapes of Jan Wynants, Jacob Van Ruysdael, Meindert Hobbema and in the townscapes of Jan van der Heyden.<sup>140</sup>

Dutch landscapes by the Haarlem artist Cornelis Decker (Dekker) (Haarlem before 1623-1678) rarely appeared in auction sales until the eighteenth century. Naturalistic scenes of rural dwellings set in landscape, and sometimes Dutch interiors, showing fine detail in rendering the exact appearance of the materials for walls and roofing characterized his oeuvre. A sale at Langford's in 1748/9 listed A landscape by Decker with figures by Adriaen van Ostade which was sold for £6.10.0, (see Summary in Appendix). Outside the sale room a knowledge of his work, came from Martyn's book published in the 1760's which described two landscape paintings by Decker in the collection of Charles Jennens.<sup>141</sup>

#### A Summary of Prices Paid for Naturalistic Dutch Landscape Paintings

Just over half the Naturalistic Dutch paintings fell within the range of £1.00.0 - £10.00.0 and most of these were in fact under £7.00.0. There were eight paintings in the range from £10.00.0 to £20.00.0 and only two above £20.00.0. The highest prices were for paintings by Jacob van Ruysdael and Jan Wyck each at £21.00.0. A painting by Abraham Hondius brought £25.14.6 for A large Stag Hunt, and lastly, Aert van der Neer's painting of A Morning sold for the highest price £47.05.0. To what extent did the sample agree with Simpsons garnering of the highest priced paintings in the Houlditch

Sales Catalogues ? Simpson listed 4 paintings by van der Neer, ranging from £24.13.6 to £32.11.0; and the most expensive Ruisdael at £46.04.0. Views by van Goyen ranged from £2.15.0 to £12.12.0; and townscapes by van der Heyden were priced £18.18.0 to £44.02.0. Turning back to Table 8 above, the most interesting feature of the samples is that collectors were prepared to pay higher prices for naturalistic landscapes generally. There appears to have been a more gradual movement upwards in price to the £20.00.0 mark than the Italianate-Dutch landscapes in Table 7.

#### Seventeenth Century Dutch Landscape Artists in England

The findings indicated that there was a decline in the number of paintings by particular seventeenth century Dutch artists in sales during the eighteenth century. For example, it will be recalled that numerous landscapes and hunting scenes by Abraham Hondius (c.1625/30 - London 1691/95) appeared in sales in the 1690's, but now paintings by this master rarely appeared. The prices paid for paintings by Hondius were well above the average. In the sample a scene entitled A boar hunting was sold at Van Huls' sale in 1722 for £9.9.0. In the second sample, a large Stag hunt sold for £15.00.0 and its companion for just over £25.00.0 (see Appendix). However, there were also prices which were well below the average. For example, a systematic search found a landscape depicting Cupid with dogs which was purchased by Donne at van Spangen's sale (1747/8) for as little as fifteen shillings,<sup>142</sup> and was probably a copy or a minor work by Hondius.

The earliest references to Hondius however, were first made by Buckeridge (1706) in his essay on the English School, and later in the century, Frederick Harms, George Vertue, and Horace Walpole also made some reference to this artist.<sup>143</sup> Vertue's description of

Hondius's work was not published in his own life time, but much of the content formed the basis of Walpoles 'Anecdotes of Painting in England'.<sup>144</sup> In May 1726 at Mr Halstead's sale Vertue observed a celebrated painting by Hondius entitled The dog Market, which he observed to be : "...a much noted and esteemed masterpiece. - skill in human figures not very correct but an easy pencil-...";<sup>145</sup> and again in May-June 1728 Vertue noted that a fine and highly finished picture of a Bull-baiting was to be sold. Vertue remarked that it was " rather more finished than the famous dog market ".<sup>146</sup> At Rawlinson's sale (1734) Vertue noted "a large picture bear baiting - much like Snyders".<sup>147</sup> During his visit to private collections in 1731 Vertue noted a painting by Abraham Hondius among other artists in a room off the " Poetical Hall of the Ancients".<sup>148</sup> On July 8th 1739 Vertue described the pictures in Sir Robert Walpole's residence at Houghton Hall listed two large hunting pieces by Hondius (dated 1674), which were situated in the dining room on the first floor.<sup>149</sup>

In a note dated April 1751, Vertue described a grand painting by Hondius in the collection of the Prince of Wales:

... - Diana returning from a hunt - the figures in the landscape by A. Hondius. between three or four foot - ... the figures well drawn and coloured. the landscape also the animals well touched and the picture all done by himself as it seems has a good deal of merit."<sup>150</sup>

Although paintings by Thomas Wyck (1616-1677) and his son Jan Wyck (1640-1702) appeared more frequently in seventeenth century auction sales, a fair number were also present in eighteenth century collections. The second random sample selected a highly priced painting of "The Seige of Rhodes" which was purchased by Mr. Beckford for £21.00.0 (see Appendix). A single painting entitled A Turkish Battle appeared in Mr Williamson's sale in 1722, and was selected in the sample. In addition to the above, a systematic selection listed two paintings by the elder Wyck. One of these brought a below-average

figure of £3.13.6 for A seaport in the manner of Old Wyck,<sup>151</sup> at the Marquis Cassanedi's sale. Another painting of a a seaport with figures by old Wyck<sup>152</sup> was selected but no price was recorded by the Messrs Houlditch. A painting by Jan Wijck entitled King Williams Entry sold for an average price of £7.7.6.<sup>153</sup> Six other paintings of landscapes, havens or ports and hunts by Jan Wijck were sold for very low prices from just under £1.00.0, which suggests that buyers were not confident in their attribution. The range for these latter paintings was below average, -from seventeen shillings (17/-) for an "evening piece" to £6.11.0 for A Turkish Horse sold at Lord Halifax's sale in 1739.<sup>154</sup>

In the previous chapter it will be recalled that paintings by Jan Griffier, the elder (1645- 1718) appeared frequently in late seventeenth century sales, but the evidence suggests that by the 1730's, works by Griffier appeared less frequently and were less well known than paintings by Italianate-Dutch masters. A summary of the findings in the Appendix shows that a painting by Griffier entitled A landscape with figures and cattle was sold by Christopher Cock in 1725 at the sale of the Palavicini pictures, the collection of a wealthy merchant. In 1752 in a sale at Prestages A landscape with cattle was sold, but the prices for these latter paintings was not recorded. However, a second sampling of the Houlditch Catalogue listed what must have been an interesting picture of A View of Brussels which Dr. Chauncey bought from Sir Peter Gleane for an average price of £8.00.0 (see Appendix). Contrary to expectations, the systematic survey of paintings within a few sales catalogues did not turn up a single painting by this artist. However, such noteworthy writers during the period, Horace Walpole and Thomas Martyn, enabled the reader to get an insiders view of what collectors considered to be important artists worthy of enhancing any collection.



Vertue noted that Griffier was a painter of landscapes with small figures, castles and buildings, in the style of Flemish and Italian masters.<sup>155</sup> In the same vein Walpole noted that he received lessons from Adriaen van de Velde, Ruysdale, and Rembrandt.<sup>156</sup> In addition to views Griffier also excelled in copying Italian and Flemish masters but particularly the works of seventeenth century Dutch masters notably Poelenburgh, Hondecoeter, Rembrandt and Ruysdale,<sup>157</sup> which suggests that he was producing copies to satisfy a demand for works after these latter masters by English patrons. This is not surprising since the evidence from this analysis suggests that paintings by these latter artists were extremely popular during this period. Vertue noted "... a curious landscape with ruins painted by Griffier. 1690 written on stone c. middle of pict. 3' long.- less high much in the manner of (Huismans)..." in the collection of Mr. Hay.<sup>158</sup> At the Earl of Radnor's sale in the 1720's Vertue saw a painting by Griffier.<sup>159</sup> Thomas Martyn and Walpole recorded "A seaport" and a landscape by Griffier at Sir Robert Walpole's house, Houghton Hall.<sup>160</sup> Martyn observed two landscape paintings in the manner of Breugel and A moonlight at Charles Jennens' house in Holborn.<sup>161</sup> In addition the Painters-Stainers Hall in the City of London owned a painting by Griffier which the artist probably presented to the Guild himself.<sup>162</sup>

In addition to the artists discussed above there were also a small number of minor landscape artists working in England. (see Appendix). Their works included single landscape paintings by two minor contemporary masters in England Jan van der Vaart, (Haarlem 1653- London 1727), and a painting by Vogelsang (Vogelsanck/Vogelsand) (Amsterdam 1688- London 1753) who was probably the artist described by Thieme-Becker as a landscape painter working in Scotland and Ireland, but this artist was not mentioned by any of the

eighteenth century sources and his work seems to have been relatively rare in auction sales of the period.

Overall the prices paid for seventeenth century Dutch landscape artists working in England ranged in price from below average to averages of £7.00 to £8.00. There were a few paintings priced above average at £21.00 but these were not as high as the best Wouwermans or Ruysdaels.

#### A Summary of Prices for Seventeenth Century Dutch Landscapes

The summary of Dutch landscape paintings below suggests that the major trade in paintings occurred in the lower price range from £0 to £5.00. The actual range was from £0 to £25.00, with only three paintings above £40.00. A systematic collecting and tabulation of paintings from a small number of catalogues from the Houlditch Catalogues showed a similar range of prices including what appears to have been some of the highest prices paid for landscape paintings during the period. This evidence was confirmed in many cases by Simpson's list of the highest prices paid for paintings by the most meritorious Dutch masters. These values like those illustrated in the table below lay far outside the average range and represented a very small minority of paintings which were purchased by wealthy collectors, from known and respected collections on the basis of originality and aesthetic merit. On the other hand, the main trade in the lower end of the market appears to suggest that there were large numbers of 'trademark' paintings depicting numerous examples of the same subject matter, many of which were unsigned, and also included paintings in the style of noteworthy artists, copies after known Dutch masters, fakes and forgeries. There is evidence to suggest that numerous copies and fakes in the market were a real problem for both the reputable dealer and collector so that the motto 'buyer beware' was the watch word of the day.<sup>163</sup>. This appears to have had the effect

of lowering the price of original paintings, since the prospective purchaser was not sure whether he was purchasing an original or fake. There was no doubt a great deal of 'wheeling and dealing' at this end of the market and the turn over probably more rapid in the short-term and the supply and demand greater than in the upper reaches of the market.

#### 5.2.6 Seventeenth Century Dutch Genre Paintings

An examination of the summary of genre and low-life painters in the appendices lends support to the notion that in the eighteenth century there was an increased propensity to collect elegant genre and conversation pieces by Mieris, Metsu and the merry companies of Palamedes, in preference to low-life genre and drolls. Paintings by the Dutch droll painters Heemskerck and Daniel Boone appeared less frequently in eighteenth century sales catalogues, than in the previous century. This observation is confirmed by the findings in Tables 1 and 2 in the appendix, and in Tables 3 - 6 above which show a decline in the numbers of Dutch low-life paintings compared to Table 1 in the previous chapter, while on the other hand, higher frequencies for genre painting characterised collecting during the period.

TABLE 9  
SUMMARY OF PRICES PAID FOR SEVENTEENTH CENTURY DUTCH GENRE PAINTINGS  
1711-1759\*

| N    | MEAN  | MEDIAN | TRMEAN | STDEV | SEMEAN |
|------|-------|--------|--------|-------|--------|
| 18   | 10.20 | 6.40   | 8.10   | 11.82 | 2.79   |
| MIN  | MAX   | Q1     | Q3     |       |        |
| 1.35 | 52.50 | 2.27   | 12.38  |       |        |

Cont/...

Table 9 (Continued)  
HISTOGRAM of the \* prices listed in the summary in the appendix.

| Midpoint | Count |       |
|----------|-------|-------|
| 0        | 3     | ***   |
| 5        | 7     | ***** |
| 10       | 4     | ****  |
| 15       | 2     | **    |
| 20       | 1     | *     |
| 25       | 0     |       |
| 30       | 0     |       |
| 35       | 0     |       |
| 40       | 0     |       |
| 45       | 0     |       |
| 50       | 0     |       |
| 55       | 1     | *     |

Turning to Table 9 above, the summary of prices indicates that the majority of genre paintings were purchased for prices of around £5.00.0 The range was from just above £0 to £20.00 with only a single painting at the upper extreme limit at £55.00. Since the latter price tends to inflate the mean value, the mode (midpoint 5) has been selected as the average.

The lowest prices in the sample were paid for paintings by Frans Hals at £1.07.0, and £1.17.0 for an oval conversation piece by Antonio Palamedes. Merrymaking scenarios by Heemskerck at prices of just over £2.00.0 were also among the below average prices as illustrated in Table 9 above.

The most interesting feature of the sale room prices is that since paintings were very much individual pieces, the fame of the artist was not the only variable affecting price. In the case of paintings by Franz Hals for example, prices varied from as little as £1,07.0 to £40.00 and over. This suggests that there were other variables affecting choice such as provenance and the aesthetic merit of an individual work. In addition to the random sample, a systematic selection and Simpson's study of the highest prices provided additional information to show how much prices for the same artist's work varied. A systematic garnering of the Houlditch catalogues

listed a conversation piece by Hals which was sold at John van Spanghen's sale 1748 for £7.07.0. In Simpson's selection, prices ranged from prices as low as £2.03.0 for a Hals portrait of A woman with a jug, to well beyond the average as illustrated by Lord Byron's acquisition of a picture entitled A Dutch courtesan and a man drinking which was purchased at Sir Luke Schaub's sale (1758) for £43.01.0.<sup>164</sup> On the other hand, a consistently higher range of prices were paid for genre paintings by Rembrandt. In the sample, a picture of A nun threading a needle sold for £16.16.0 and a Woman in the Water with her coats up sold for an above average price of £19.08.6. This picture could be the one now entitled A woman Bathing in the National Gallery Collection (No.54). Rembrandt's painting of A cave with figures was one of the lowest priced paintings selected from a systematic garnering of sales catalogues and the title alone suggests that it must have been a rather sombre and unimpressive painting selling for as little as £3.05.0.

Simpson's study listed five genre pieces by Rembrandt which included a painting entitled A girl leaning out of a window purchased by the Duke of Bedford for a considerable sum of £67.04.0 at de Piles' sale in 1742, which is probably the painting in the Dulwich collection.<sup>165</sup> Two more Rembrandts were listed : a painting of A woman plucking a fowl which Blackwood sold in 1757 for £52.10.0<sup>166</sup> and A man with a knife in his hand, which was purchased by Reynolds (probably the painting in Sir Joshua Reynold's collection) for £27.06.0 at Dr. Bragge's sale in 1757.<sup>167</sup>

The results showed that although the sales in the samples listed the names of such meritorious artists as Jan Miense Molenaer, Adriaen van Ostade, Gerard Dou and Ferdinand Bol, the prices were frequently unrecorded. However, sources listing paintings which achieved £40.00 or more at auction sales recorded a painting by Bol

at £58.00 (1711-1730).<sup>166</sup> In addition the same source noted that there were as many as five paintings by Dou at above £40.00, the highest price was £92.18.0 (1731-1759).<sup>167</sup>

A systematic sampling was used to provide supporting material for the random sample and in this case shows that prices ranged from high to low even for the same artist within the same sale. Four conversation pieces by Ostade at John van Spangen's sale ranged from £3.19.0 to £8.00.0.<sup>170</sup> Simpson's study listed paintings by Ostade which were priced at over £17.00.0 and £18.00.0.<sup>171</sup> In 1756, Mayne bid £78.15.0 for a fine painting of A school in progress, at Christopher Batt's sale, which appears to have been one of the highest prices paid for a painting by this master.<sup>172</sup>

By comparison the findings in the sample shows that Boor paintings by Egbert van Heemskerk, and Quiringh Brekelenkam, appear to have been lower in price than the norm at just over £2.00.0. This is contrasted with the elegant genre of Frans van Mieris, Casper Netscher, Gottfried Schalcken, and Gabriel Metsu which brought prices which appear to compare favourably to the best histories by Italian masters. In 1722 at William van Huls' sale, a painting by Metsu entitled Ladies in their bed chamber was sold for £52.10.0 which appears to have been the highest price paid for this kind of elegant genre in the sample. Simpson's list also indicated that higher prices were paid for works by Mieris during the period 1711-1759/60. A painting measuring 22 x 16 (inches) in size depicting A Gentleman at his Mistress's toilet, offering her a pinch of snuff, [as] she is stringing a pearl, was purchased by Moreland for £21.10.0 at Dr. Bragge's sale in 1754.<sup>173</sup>

Sales of paintings by Frans van Mieris appeared with greater frequency than Metsu in seventeenth century sales. However, van Mieris's history paintings brought prices which overshadowed those of

his conversation pieces. In John van Spangen's sale of 1748 a Biblical History of Annon and Tamar was sold to Moreland for £105.00.0, and a classical subject of Rinaldo and Armida brought £63.00.0.<sup>174</sup>

Prices paid for Mieris' genre pieces averaged about £10.00.0 - £12.00.0. However, only a single painting in the style of Metsu entitled A boy with a jug which was purchased by Lord Anton for £6.10.0. at Sir Luke Schaub's Sale in 1758, was listed in the random sample. At William van Huls' sale in 1722 Sir Scipio Hill purchased two fine paintings by Michael Mieris, A lady with a dram bottle at £11.05.0 and a A Lady with a dog at £12.12.0.<sup>175</sup>

In summary it appears that the majority of genre paintings were low in price with most of them achieving only about £5.00.0 in auction sales. Collectors appear to have paid lower prices for copies or for paintings attributed to well-known masters than genuine originals. The highest prices were paid for paintings by Metsu and Mieris which indicates that they were among the most popular painters of genre during the period. High prices for paintings by these masters also suggests that collectors purchasing these works were probably well informed about the origin of a particular painting. Furthermore high prices paid by collectors at auction sales depended on the notariety of particular collections such as The Duke of Portland's, William van Huls and John van Spangen's , which were among the most exemplary collections offered for sale during the period .

#### 5.2.7 Seventeenth Century Dutch Portrait Paintings

Table 10 below indicates that portraits were generally lower in price than landscapes and genre paintings. This small group of annotated paintings from both samples shows that prices ranged from

just over £0.00.0 to £16.00.0 with the mode at £2.00.0 to 4.00.0 which suggests that portraits by seventeenth century Dutch artists were among the lowest priced paintings at auction sales compared with landscapes and genre painting. The most noteworthy feature is that there were no outstandingly high prices which suddenly deviated to the upper end of the scale.

TABLE 10  
SUMMARY OF PRICES PAID FOR SEVENTEENTH CENTURY DUTCH PORTRAITS  
1711-1759\*

| N    | MEAN  | MEDIAN | TRMEAN | STDEV | SEMEAN |
|------|-------|--------|--------|-------|--------|
| 13   | 7.14  | 4.30   | 6.95   | 5.66  | 1.57   |
| MIN  | MAX   | Q1     | Q3     |       |        |
| 0.65 | 15.75 | 2.35   | 13.37  |       |        |

HISTOGRAM of the \* prices listed in the summary in the appendix.

| Midpoint | Count |      |
|----------|-------|------|
| 0        | 1     | *    |
| 2        | 4     | **** |
| 4        | 2     | **   |
| 6        | 1     | *    |
| 8        | 0     |      |
| 10       | 1     | *    |
| 12       | 1     | *    |
| 14       | 1     | *    |
| 16       | 2     | **   |

Referring to a summary of prices paid for seventeenth century Dutch portraiture in the Appendix, the random sampling of Houlditch Sales Catalogues indicates a high propensity for the acquirement of paintings by Rembrandt in particular. The highest prices recorded in the sample were £9.09.0 for a portrait of Ernest Prince of Orange, and £12.01.6 for a self-portrait of Rembrandt which Dr. Mead sold to Hudson. The lowest price was for a less attractive subject of an unknown sitter described simply as 'an old woman's head', sold at Mr. Glovers sale for £2.08.0. The highest prices in Simpson's study were for a Rembrandt self-portrait which was sold at William van Huls sale for £80.00.0 to Mr. Thomas Broderick M.P., the man responsible for the so-called 'Broderick's Act of 1722, changing



the import duty on paintings to encourage better works to be imported into England,<sup>176</sup> and at M. de Piles's sale A mans head with a turban was aquired by the Duke of Devonshire for £78.15.0 <sup>177</sup> The highest price paid was for a capital picture of Admiral van Tromp and a companion picture of his wife for £141.15.0 which Bragge purchased at Sir John Rawdon's sale in 1744.<sup>178</sup> Collectors were willing to pay higher prices for history painting generally, but even then there was a range of prices in which only one or two exceptional works reached £100.00.0 or more. One example was a painting entitled The Resurrection of Lazarus (measuring 46 by 41) which was sold at Chevalier Couvay's sale on 16th Feb. 1754, for a price in excess of £160.00.0. <sup>179</sup>

Looking back to the prices paid for Rembrandts paintings, the reader will notice that above average prices were paid for portraits of known historical personalities such as Admiral Tromp, and for portraits of the artist and his family such as Rembrandt's wife, and his own self portraits. The same can be said about Lely's portraits of seventeenth century personalities which have been outlined in the summary in the appendix. For example, Christopher Cock and a group of financiers and bankers, sold a half-length portrait by Lely in 1744 for £14.17.6, and again in 1750 at Joseph van Haecken's sale a half-length portrait of Mrs. Frankland was purchased for £15.15.0. <sup>180</sup>

5.3.0      Italian Paintings in Sales Catalogue 1710-1760

**An Overview**

Eighteenth century sale catalogues indicate that there had been an increased propensity to collect paintings by Italian masters. The reasons for this have been discussed in chapter four but briefly again the main issue is related to the fact that Italian paintings of classical and religious histories were exemplary in adhering to academic rules, the subject matter was edifying to the viewer, and upper-class eighteenth century collectors felt that this kind of painting best reflected their own taste and values. As far as the vertical diffusion downwards of knowledge about Italian art was concerned it will be recalled that a growth in the trade in books and prints from abroad fostered an appreciation for Italian painting, reinforced by opportunities to see original paintings by the famous old masters during 'the grand tour' to Italy, or by browsing through auction sales which were open to the public for at least three days prior to sale date. The graph of imports of paintings in the Appendix to Chapter Three shows the extent of the growth in the trade in paintings from Italy which occurred in the period after 1722. Paintings of biblical figures and biblical histories appeared in greater frequencies in the sales than ever before. In the first sample, Tables 3 and 4 show a frequency of 19 paintings, that is a row total of 25.3% of paintings by Italian artists. High agreement was reached in the second sample (in Tables 5 & 6) with a total frequency of 18 (22.2% of the row total) for biblical histories.

### 5.3.1 Italian Paintings of Biblical Histories

In the Appendix, a synchronic arrangement of the artists selected in the two random samples shows that history paintings by Italian masters of the Renaissance and sixteenth century rarely appeared in the eighteenth century sales. In fact, the only sixteenth century representative selected by sampling was a single painting by the Mannerist painter Parmigianino. However since the prices for this latter painting and many others were not recorded it is difficult to make any judgement about how the age of a painting affected the price paid in the auction room. The findings show that eighteenth century collectors had a propensity to collect Italian paintings by late sixteenth to mid seventeenth century masters, and at the same time they acquired paintings by eighteenth century masters who were probably working during the collector's life time.

Table 11 below gives a summary of the prices paid on average for Biblical Histories by Italian artists. The mean value at £20.00.0 is rather an inflated average because of the small number of paintings priced at £70.00.0 -100.00.0 at the upper end of the scale. The modal value at £10.00 (14 paintings) appears to a better measure of the average price paid for biblical histories.

Just under half of the total number of biblical histories were under £10.00.0 and most of these were by seventeenth century masters. However, more than half of the total, were above £10.00.0 with three above £30.00.0 and in the upper reaches there were three more above £70.00.0.

TABLE 11  
SUMMARY OF PRICES PAID FOR ITALIAN PAINTINGS OF BIBLICAL HISTORIES  
1711-1759\*

| N    | MEAN  | MEDIAN | TRMEAN | STDEV | SEMEAN |
|------|-------|--------|--------|-------|--------|
| 28   | 20.16 | 11.64  | 17.95  | 24.00 | 4.54   |
| MIN  | MAX   | Q1     | Q3     |       |        |
| 1.05 | 96.60 | 6.90   | 23.26  |       |        |

Cont/ ...

Table 11 (Continued)

HISTOGRAM of the # prices listed in the summary in the appendix.

| Midpoint | Count |       |
|----------|-------|-------|
| 0        | 4     | ****  |
| 10       | 14    | ***** |
| 20       | 4     | ****  |
| 30       | 1     | *     |
| 40       | 2     | **    |
| 50       | 0     |       |
| 60       | 0     |       |
| 70       | 1     | *     |
| 80       | 1     | *     |
| 90       | 0     |       |
| 100      | 1     | *     |

Beginning at the lowest end of the scale, the collector Broderick ( probably Thomas Broderick M.P.) purchased 'a visitation' by Bellini for as little as £2.00.0 In addition, there were a few paintings by seventeenth century Italian masters priced at just over £1.00.0 . These included Joseph's Dream by Giovan Battista Mola . A painting entitled Angels ministering to Our Saviour in the Wilderness by Pier Francesco Mola was purchased by Bonus for £1.11.6. and at Charles Jervas's sale a cartoon by N.Berrettoni of St. Peter delivered from Prison was sold for as little as £1.01.0. but there is evidence that paintings by this master cost as much as £60.00.0 for what can be regarded as a singularly outstanding masterpiece.<sup>10</sup> However, the lowest prices for paintings by Mola listed in the sample suggests first of all that biblical figures in landscape settings were able to challenge low prices for Dutch landscape painting and secondly that low prices for Mola's paintings enabled diffusion of knowledge about painting to occur more easily because it was not exclusive and included collectors with modest disposable incomes.

By far the majority of paintings were priced at about £10.00.0, which suggests that Italian Histories were popular, or at least that collectors were prepared to pay at least twice as much on average than for Dutch landscapes and genre paintings. In 1754 Knapton (the

portrait artist) and Parrot appear to have pooled their resources to purchase Il Pordonone's The Woman taken in Adultery for a mere £7.07.0. at Arthur Pond's sale in 1754. Since Knapton and Pond were connected in the production of portraits and engravings, it is likely that Knapton was already familiar with the painting. The Duke of Ancaster paid £13.05.0 for a painting of Madonna with Angels by Solimani at Anthony Cousein's sale.

In 1741 at Charles Jervas's sale Sir Joseph Townsend paid one of the highest prices in the sample for Carlo Maratta's (1625-1713) Dead Christ with a lady and Angels at £77.00.0., which suggests that the latter collector might have known something about the painting's pedigree because he was willing to risk such a large amount. Other sources noted that the highest prices for Maratta's works (that is, prices beyond £40.00 for the period 1711-1759) fell into the range of £159.7.0 (for the period 1711-1730) and £273.0.0 (1731-1759),<sup>102</sup> so that £77.00.0 was by no means the highest price paid for this master's work during the period.

In 1722 at the Duke of Portland's sale a painting entitled Tobit and the Angel by Luca Giordano which sold for £72.00.0 to Sir Paul Methuen suggests that paintings by this master were popular. There were naturally risks involved in purchasing paintings at high prices but the latter sale appears to have been one of the most exemplary during the period and probably contained a large number of authentic paintings. In 1756 Mayne purchased a Nativity by Luca Giordano (1632-1705) for £96.12.0 at Mr. Batt's sale in 1756. Another source listed as many as eleven paintings by Giordano reaching prices of £40.00.0 and over and the exceptional ones were priced at £225.00.0 (for the period 1711-1730) and £147.00.0 (for the period 1731-1759).

### 5.3.2 Italian Paintings of Biblical Figures

The findings from the random samples demonstrate that although the frequencies for paintings of biblical figures roughly matched those of biblical histories, prices paid for paintings of biblical figures generally at auction sales for the period 1711-1759 tended to be lower. This was undoubtedly due to fact that there was a preference for historical pieces depicting episodes from the Bible, whereas single figures probably did not have the same appeal. Table 12 below shows that most (19 paintings out of a total of 25) ranged in price from over £0.00.0 to £10.00.0 with three paintings above the mean and mode at £20.00.0 and three more above £40.00.0 This range in price was considerably higher than the prices paid for Dutch portraiture

TABLE 12  
SUMMARY OF PRICES PAID FOR ITALIAN PAINTINGS OF BIBLICAL FIGURES  
1711-1759\*

| N    | MEAN  | MEDIAN | TRMEAN | STDEV | SEMEAN |
|------|-------|--------|--------|-------|--------|
| 25   | 13.12 | 8.40   | 11.49  | 15.81 | 3.16   |
| MIN  | MAX   | Q1     | Q3     |       |        |
| 0.75 | 63.00 | 3.87   | 15.22  |       |        |

HISTOGRAM of the \* prices listed in the summary in the appendix.

| Midpoint | Count |       |
|----------|-------|-------|
| 0        | 9     | ***** |
| 10       | 10    | ***** |
| 20       | 3     | ***   |
| 30       | 0     |       |
| 40       | 1     | *     |
| 50       | 1     | *     |
| 60       | 1     | *     |

The prices paid for biblical figures have been summarized in a list in the Appendix, but briefly, the highest prices paid were for Lodovico Carracci's (1555-1619) Virgin and Christ with a Monk kissing the infants toe which was purchased by Sir Paul Methuen for as much as £63.00.0. At Sir James Thornhill's Sale "a capital picture" of A Virgin and Child by Annibale Carracci (1560-1609) sold for £53.11.0.

At Mr. Kent's Sale in 1758 A picture of St. Christiana by Carlo Dolci (1616-1686). brought £37.16.0.

Wide range in prices from a singularly outstanding piece at £60.00.0 to many over £1.00.0 enabled the majority of collectors to compete in the sale room for paintings at the lower end of the scale. It is not known if paintings in this lower price range included undiscovered masterpieces but collectors with experience and an eye for style probably purchased authentic work or good copies of old masters by meritorious artists for very low prices. The purchase of paintings in this lower price bracket was not exclusive to one class but included aristocratic collectors on the look out for bargains. For example, in 1758 Lord Cholmondeley bought a painting of St. Mary of Egypt by Luca Giordano, at Mr. Fauquier's sale for as little as £4.00.0.

There were at least 5 paintings priced from £1.00.0 - £2.00.0 in the sample. One of these included a picture of A Virgin and child by the highly acclaimed Lodovico Carracci which was sold by Bragge in 1754 for as little as £2.12.6 to an un-named buyer- a vast difference in price compared with the one bought by Sir Paul Methuen mentioned above. It is impossible to determine whether the latter painting was an original or a fake but it does suggest that most of the trade in paintings occurred at this lower end of the market where the risks of purchasing fakes was probably considerably higher, but the initial cost of investing was quite low.

### 5.3.3 Italian Paintings of Mythological Histories

Referring again to Tables 3 through to 6 above, and to the summary of prices in the appendix, the findings suggest that the frequencies in numbers were lower and that the prices paid for Italian mythological histories tended to be lower in value than biblical

histories. The average price ( at the mode) was about £5.00.0 but on the other hand there were a few paintings priced over £35.00.0 which were purchased by a few of the wealthiest collectors. Although this is a small group of annotated paintings with prices selected from a larger sample of Italian Mythological histories, the summary below shows the same general characteristics for each group, that is, there are a larger number of secondary paintings in the lower price bracket and a few at the upper price levels. This trend appears to have been characteristic of prices generally throughout the first half of the eighteenth century.

TABLE 13  
SUMMARY OF PRICES PAID FOR ITALIAN PAINTINGS  
OF MYTHOLOGICAL HISTORIES, 1711-1759\*

| N    | MEAN  | MEDIAN | TRMEAN | STDEV | SEMEAN |
|------|-------|--------|--------|-------|--------|
| 12   | 14.08 | 7.11   | 12.84  | 13.65 | 3.94   |
| MIN  | MAX   | Q1     | Q3     |       |        |
| 2.20 | 38.32 | 4.46   | 28.48  |       |        |

HISTOGRAM of the \* prices listed in the summary in the appendix.

| Midpoint | Count   |
|----------|---------|
| 0        | 1 *     |
| 5        | 6 ***** |
| 10       | 1 *     |
| 15       | 1 *     |
| 20       | 0       |
| 25       | 0       |
| 30       | 0       |
| 35       | 2 **    |
| 40       | 1 *     |

Turning once more to the findings summarized in the Appendix to this chapter, the highest priced mythological history paintings were by seventeenth century artists notably Pietro Valentine (active c.1691), (at £32.11.0), Carlo Maratta (1625-1713) (at £36.15.0) and Carlo Cignani (1628-1719), (priced £38.06.6). However, there were a number of paintings in the lower price range by highly regarded masters such as a Guido Reni (1575-1642) painting entitled Narcissis



admiring himself in a fountain for as little as £2.04.0. This is surprising, as paintings by Reni were very popular and reached prices as high as £133.7.0 (1711-1730) and £328.0.0 (1731-1759).<sup>194</sup> A painting entitled Diana and Acteon painted in Francesco Albani's "first manner" was purchased for £3.16.0 and a painting by Francesco Solimena (1657-1742) of Cupid drawing a thorn out of Venus's foot purchased by Mr. Bodens for £3.11.0. There were at least five more paintings by Italian masters which sold for average prices ranging from £6.00.0 to £8.00.0.

The findings indicated that the range of prices paid for Italian mythological histories was certainly higher than the prices paid for Dutch paintings overall but this difference in price was not very great which enabled a wide cross-section of collectors on varying incomes to purchase paintings by Italian masters.

#### 5.3.4 Italian Paintings of Architecture

The frequencies for the random samples in Tables 3-6, demonstrates what appears to have been a growth in demand for architectural settings and views of buildings. In Sample 1 there were as many as nine paintings listed (12.0 per cent for the row total of Italian paintings), and for Sample 2 a frequency of 6 in number (7.4 per cent of total Italian paintings).

The summary of prices in Table 14 below indicates about half of the total number of prices for paintings fell below the mean, (that is from over £0.00.0 to £15.00.0), and about half again from over £15.00.0 to £45.00.0, with a gradual rise in price.

TABLE 14  
SUMMARY OF PRICES PAID FOR ITALIAN PAINTINGS  
OF ARCHITECTURE  
1711-1759\*

| N    | MEAN  | MEDIAN | TRMEAN | STDEV | SEMEAN |
|------|-------|--------|--------|-------|--------|
| 22   | 18.49 | 16.80  | 17.96  | 13.82 | 2.95   |
| MIN  | MAX   | Q1     | Q3     |       |        |
| 1.00 | 46.72 | 5.84   | 29.92  |       |        |

HISTOGRAM of the \* prices listed in the summary in the appendix.

| Midpoint | Count |       |
|----------|-------|-------|
| 0        | 2     | **    |
| 5        | 6     | ***** |
| 10       | 1     | *     |
| 15       | 2     | **    |
| 20       | 2     | **    |
| 25       | 2     | **    |
| 30       | 2     | **    |
| 35       | 3     | ***   |
| 40       | 1     | *     |
| 45       | 1     | *     |

The samples showed that there was a propensity to collect such subjects as - A small piece of architecture by Codazzi Viviano (1603-1672), a number of views around Rome by Gaspar van Wittel called Gaspar van Vitelli or Gaspar delle Occhiale, (sometimes spelt 'Occhiali') a native of Utrecht (born in 1653) who resided in Rome and died there in 1730, and studies of architecture and ruins around Rome by Giovanni Pannini (1691/2 - Rome 1765).

It is interesting to note that views of Venice by Occhiale were were mentioned frequently in sales catalogues of the period which suggests that paintings by this artist were very popular. English tourists probably acquired views by Occhiale as mementos of their trip to famous places in Venice, Rome and Naples which are described in the titles to paintings in the sample and eighteenth century collections. In an inventory of furniture and pictures belonging to the Earl of Egremont at Egremont House in Picadilly dated 1764, pictures in the Blue Drawing room included A small piece of ruins by Pannini and A view of Venice and A view of Naples by Gaspar

Occhiale.<sup>195</sup> A sale of paintings by the art dealer Andrew Hay in 1739 listed a View of Venice ( on copper) by Occhiale which was bought by D. Leeds (probably the Duke of Leeds) for £28.07.0. In Mr. Paris's sale in 1743/4 A View of the Island of Borroneo was purchased by Mr. Wood for £21.00.0, and at Bragge's sale in 1743/4 Mr. van Spangen paid £36.04.6 for Occhiale's View of the Ponte Rota. Thomas Martyn noted a painting by Occhiale of the Ponte Rotto (sic) and a view of Florence which Martyn must have seen at Chiswick House, the Duke of Devonshires residence (formerly the 1st Earl of Burlington).<sup>196</sup>

Paintings by these latter masters seem to compare very well with Venetian architectural views by Antonio Canaletto which were consistently priced from £21.00.0 to £36.00.0. Dutch paintings of architectural views seem to have brought similiar prices and these included Steenwyck's View of Antwerp purchased by Lord Bridgewater for £33.12.0 <sup>197</sup> and similarly, townscape and views by Van der Heyden were priced from £18.00.0 to prices in excess of £50.00.0.<sup>198</sup> This evidence suggests that well considered Dutch views challenged Italian veduti in terms of price and realism of subject matter. What appears to have been an increased propensity to acquire this kind of genre was undoubtedly stimulated by the 'Grand Tour' and the relatively bouyant prices suggests that there was an increased demand at auction sales . Another valuable attribution perhaps was the fact that these works by near contemporaries were more likely to have been original works and purchased with the hope that they would gain in value over time.

### 5.3.5 Italian Landscape Paintings

The findings from sample 1 and 2 indicate that English collectors acquired large numbers of paintings by seventeenth century Italian landscape artists. The titles suggest that they were probably

classical 'Roman' landscapes such as Salvator Rosa's (1615-1673) Landscapes with figures and cattle ; landscapes by Philipp Peter Roos (1657-1706) called Rosa of Tivoli, and the eighteenth century artist Francesco Zuccarelli (1702-1788) which probably challenged the popularity of landscapes by seventeenth century Italianate-Dutch 'Romanists' which were available to collectors in the sale room at the same time.

TABLE 15  
SUMMARY OF PRICES PAID FOR ITALIAN LANDSCAPES  
1711-1759\*

| N    | MEAN   | MEDIAN | TRMEAN | STDEV | SEMEAN |
|------|--------|--------|--------|-------|--------|
| 21   | 16.3   | 6.75   | 11.91  | 25.93 | 5.66   |
| MIN  | MAX    | Q1     | Q3     |       |        |
| 1.72 | 115.50 | 5.44   | 14.45  |       |        |

HISTOGRAM of the \* prices listed in the summary in the appendix.

| Midpoint | Count |       |
|----------|-------|-------|
| 0        | 3     | ***   |
| 10       | 13    | ***** |
| 20       | 2     | **    |
| 30       | 1     | *     |
| 40       | 0     |       |
| 50       | 0     |       |
| 60       | 1     | *     |
| 70       | 0     |       |
| 80       | 0     |       |
| 90       | 0     |       |
| 100      | 0     |       |
| 110      | 0     |       |
| 120      | 1     | *     |

A summary of prices paid for Italian landscape painting from both random samples in the Appendix indicate that more than half of the Italian landscapes were priced under £10.00.0 with most of these falling into the range of £5.00.0 to £7.00.0. Table 15 above shows that the average price was about £16.36.0, but this was due to the high range in price at the upper end of the scale for a single painting. The modal point is a better estimate of the average and represents the majority of cases. There were however, one or two outstanding paintings priced outside this average range, which is

evident in the following example a buyer paid £57.15.0 for a painting entitled A landscape with cattle at John van Spangers sale. The highest price paid was for what appears to have been a set of four paintings entitled The Four Seasons by Franceschini of Bologna, which was sold by Bragge in (1744) to Lord Foley for £115.10.0. This latter example was among the highest priced paintings in van Spangers sale and no doubt drew the attention of the crowd in the sale room that day.

However, although Italian landscapes appear to have been popular and were also achieving higher prices on the average than seventeenth century Dutch landscapes, the overall pattern showing the majority of paintings priced at £10.00.0 with only one or two exceptionally high priced paintings was a common characteristic of eighteenth century sales.

A comparison of Italian landscapes with seventeenth century Dutch examples indicates that the majority of Italian landscapes were almost twice the price (£10.00.0 on the average) compared with Italianate-Dutch landscapes which showed a range from £2.00.0 - £4.00.0. It appears that the greatest esteem was in fact awarded to Naturalistic Dutch landscapes which had a slightly higher range in price from £4.00.0 - £7.00.0, which was only marginally less than Italian landscapes. However, another interesting point is that there were slightly higher frequencies of naturalistic Dutch landscapes, falling into the range from £12.00.0 to £20.00.0 and above, than either Italian landscapes or Italianate-Dutch works. Even the highest prices paid for one or two of the most meritorious works by Weenix (at £140.00.0) and Wouwermans (at £110.00.0) suggests that seventeenth century Dutch landscapes were equally admired and that collectors were willing to pay higher prices for exemplary Italian and Dutch landscape paintings.

5.4.0

Venetian Painting

The frequency distribution in Table 3 & 4 indicates that English collectors acquired Venetian paintings of architectural views, biblical histories, and genre during trips abroad on the 'Grand Tour' or from dealers in London. However, there were a few Venetian artists, who had been especially invited to England by patrons and examples of their work also appeared in sale catalogues of the period. These were Giovanni Canaletto (1697-1768) who was sponsored by Consul Joseph Smith to paint Venetian scenes and views of country seats for English patrons, and Sebastiano Ricci (1659-1734) employed by Lord Portland to paint grand history pieces, but Ricci also painted smaller works which are evident in the sample from the Houlditch sale catalogues. At Mr. van Haecken's sale of paintings in 1758, Sebastiano Ricci's painting of A Triumph of Bacchus was sold to Mozelle for £11.00.0. Two more artists Giovanni Antonio Pellegrini (1675-1741) and Marco Ricci (1676-1729) worked in London under the sponsorship of the Duke of Manchester, a former British Ambassador at Venice. A painting of David and Bathsheba by Pellegrini was sold by Anthony Cousein in 1749/50 for £4.14.6. Another artist Jacopo Amigoni (1682-1752) 'one of the last of the distinguished Italian visiting painters', worked in England for about ten years from 1729, under the patronage of Lord Powis and also for Mr Styles, a wealthy South Seas company investor.<sup>102</sup> The sales listed a genre painting of Boys by Amigoni which was purchased by [Mr.] Gossett for modest £3.03.0 at the 1749 sale of Joseph van Haecken's collection of paintings.

6.4.1

Venetian Architectural Settings and Views

The paintings of two eighteenth century masters of landscape and architecture dominated the sales, notably Antonio Canale called Canaletto and Marco Ricci. At Mr. Kent's sale of Signor Borri's

pictures in 1759 A view by Canaletto of the Arno with the Ponte Vecchio was purchased by an unknown buyer "Wicker for Blount", at £12.01.6 . The companion to this latter picture depicting 'the Arno with the Ponte Carrera' was bought by "Barnard" (probably John Barnard) for an average price of £21.10.6. ( See list in appendix).

Marco Ricci's painting entitled Ruins and Antiquities with a Figure of St. Sebastian bought by Armstrong for £47.00.0 was the most expensive piece in the sample , this suggests that small paintings by Ricci were rare in England, and that imaginative or picturesque views had been outmoded by the realistic veduti of Canaletto and Occhiale. Turning to the summary of prices in the appendix to this chapter which shows that although the range in price for Occhiale's paintings from £18.00.0 to £36.00.0, was higher than the prices paid for Canalettos at £12.01.6 to £21.10.6. the difference is only marginal. Dutch landscapes by Wouermans at (£39.18.0), Van deer Neer (£47.05.0), Ruysdael (£21.00.0) and Hondius (£25.14.0) are also similiar but the range for Venetian painting was less than Dutch landscapes which suggests that collectors consistently paid higher prices for the work of contemporary Venetian artists on the whole.

TABLE 16  
SUMMARY OF PRICES PAID FOR VENETIAN ARCHITECTURAL VIEWS  
1711-1759\*

| N    | MEAN  | MEDIAN | TRMEAN | STDEV | SEMEAN |
|------|-------|--------|--------|-------|--------|
| 9    | 27.11 | 33.60  | 27.11  | 14.47 | 4.82   |
| MIN  | MAX   | Q1     | Q3     |       |        |
| 0.60 | 47.00 | 16.54  | 36.24  |       |        |

HISTOGRAM of the \* prices listed in the summary in the appendix.

| Midpoint | Count |      |
|----------|-------|------|
| 0        | 1     | *    |
| 5        | 0     |      |
| 10       | 1     | *    |
| 15       | 0     |      |
| 20       | 2     | **   |
| 25       | 0     |      |
| 30       | 0     |      |
| 35       | 4     | **** |
| 40       | 0     |      |
| 45       | 1     | *    |

The summary of prices paid for Venetian paintings of Architectural views in Table 16 above shows graphically the same information listed in the summary in the appendix of this chapter. The average price paid for Architectural views was £27.11.0, but the majority of paintings in a very small sample of four paintings were slightly higher in price at £35.00.0. Furthermore there were only two paintings priced below £20.00.0 which suggests that Venetian veduti were among the most popular genre of the period, recapturing for the viewer some favourite scene in Venice, which they had appreciated during a 'Grand Tour' of Italy. The most interesting feature of this analysis is that paintings by Canaletto and the Dutch artist Occhiale (Van Wittel) is that collectors were willing to pay prices which were almost equal to the works of the most popular Italian and Dutch landscapists.

#### 5.4.2 Venetian Biblical Histories

It is unfortunate that there were so few paintings with prices recorded in the Houlditch catalogues and this explains the small numbers of priced examples in the summary of Venetian Biblical histories in Table 17 below. The total number of paintings in the sample was in fact very small in number anyway, but the same pattern was characteristic of sale room prices as shown by Dutch and Italian examples for the period. For example, Table 17 shows a cluster of prices around the lower end of the market ranging in price from £5.00 to £15.00 and with only a single painting at the upper end of the scale at £40.00. This latter price however, does not represent the actual upper limit, but this wide range of prices appears to be fairly representative of the general sale room price structure as noted above. The most interesting paintings in the sample will be discussed now.



A biblical history by G. Bassano at Mr. de Piles' sale in 1741 of The Angel appearing to the Shepherds was bought by Cooke for £39.18.0, which was the highest price recorded in the sample. Another painting by Bassano entitled Jacob's journey into Egypt was listed but because the price was not recorded it was not possible to compare the latter with other European paintings .

TABLE 17  
SUMMARY OF PRICES PAID FOR VENETIAN BIBLICAL HISTORIES  
1711-1759\*

| N    | MEAN  | MEDIAN | TRMEAN | STDEV | SEMEAN |
|------|-------|--------|--------|-------|--------|
| 6    | 12.71 | 6.99   | 12.71  | 14.06 | 5.74   |
| MIN  | MAX   | Q1     | Q3     |       |        |
| 3.15 | 39.90 | 3.79   | 21.39  |       |        |

HISTOGRAM of the \* prices listed in the summary in the appendix.

| Midpoint | Count |     |
|----------|-------|-----|
| 5        | 3     | *** |
| 10       | 1     | *   |
| 15       | 1     | *   |
| 20       | 0     |     |
| 25       | 0     |     |
| 30       | 0     |     |
| 35       | 0     |     |
| 40       | 1     | *   |

The highest prices for Venetian biblical histories included paintings by I. Bellini and Paulo Veronese. At Mr. Paris's sale in 1741 Lord Cholmondeley bought a painting entitled A Holy family by I. Bellini (probably John Bellini) for the grand sum of £110.05.0. 190

Paintings by Paulo Veronese seemed to feature more prominently in the sample than other artists. The prices for his paintings vary from as low as £3.3.0 for a sketch of Our Saviour disputing with the Doctors to above £15.00.0 for an untitled history painting by Veronese at Dr. Bragge's sale .At the Duke of Chandos's sale in 1747 A Marriage of St. Catherine in the style of Veronese sold for £9.05.0. There were also a few unpriced paintings by this master, such as The Adoration sold by the Duke of Chandos, and at Captain Broomes' sale a Christ and the Samaritan Woman.At Lord Orford's sale in 1751, The

Adoration of the Kings by Tintoretto (probably Domenico Tintoretto), was purchased by an unknown buyer Mr. Leeson for as little as £4.00.0.

One of the drawbacks in completing an analysis is that many of the prices for particular paintings were not recorded and these examples included such works as Giorgione's painting of St. Jerome, and paintings by Palma Vecchio (Jacopo Negretti) of The Virgin and St. Francis and A history of Our Saviour.

#### 5.4.3 Venetian Genre Painting

The highest price £122.07.0 was paid for a painting of Figures playing at Chess by Titian at Mr. Edwin's sale 1749/50. In another example the price for a fine genre painting of A group of Boys at the Altar from the Cornari family sold at Mr. C. Jarvis's sale was not recorded. By comparison the prices paid for a few of the most outstanding seventeenth century Dutch genre paintings were only slightly lower than Venetian genre paintings. The evidence for this comes from Simpson's list. At a sale at Dr. Bragge's in 1751 a painting by P.C. van Slingelandt entitled Boys driving a cat from a bird was purchased by [Mr.] Ellis for £108.03.0.<sup>121</sup>

In summary then the highest prices were paid for Titian's genre painting of Figures Playing Chess and for I Bellino / Bellini's painting of The Holy Family. However, since there was a great deal of variation in price for the same artist's work, and many prices were omitted, this variable was not a reliable indicator of an artist's fame. However, the most interesting feature is the fact that views by Canaletto had a narrower range of prices from £12.00.0 to £47.00.0 (with an average of £24.00.0), while on the other hand biblical histories, classical subjects and secular genre had a far wider range from as low as £2.02.0 for what appears to have been a copy after Tintoretto, to a high of £122.07.0 for a genuine genre painting by

Titian entitled Figures playing chess.<sup>122</sup> A comparison can be made with the pictures bought by one collector, Margaret Dutchess of Portland, at the sale of Sir Luke Schaub's collection in 1758. George Vertue described Schaub's collection as being of "the highest value, well chosen and well preserved."<sup>123</sup> In this collection a Titian painting of the famous Anthony de Levee who took Francis I of France prisoner was priced at £43.01.0 and a Tintoretto portrait of Signor Sach was sold at the Contirini sale for £66.03.0, but these were by no means the highest prices in the collection. Among the most expensive paintings in the two samples were works by Van Dyck, Guido Reni, Claude Lorrain, but the most exceptional was A landscape painted by three of the most meritorious Flemish masters - Rubens, Velvet Breugel and Paul Brill which sold for a grand £550.00.0. Apart from Raphael's Holy Family achieved a grand sum of £700 at the Duke of Portland's sale in 1722,<sup>124</sup> the latter painting must have been considered one of the most celebrated pieces of the period.

#### A Summary of Prices paid for Venetian Painting

The frequency distribution in Table 2 and 3 shows that English collectors favoured Venetian landscapes, followed by genre and biblical histories, each with a frequency of 7 paintings or 21.2% of the row total for Venetian paintings in the sample, but the sample of priced paintings was very small. Collectors paid the highest prices for architectural views of Venice by Canaletto, Titian's 'Chess Players' and I. Bellini's Holy Family.

5.5.0

FLEMISH PAINTINGS

The frequencies in Tables 3 to 6 above indicate that the majority of Flemish portrait paintings in English collections were by Flemings who resided in England during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. There was also a propensity to collect Flemish landscapes by Flemish artists working abroad but there were a few Flemings who resided in England during the first quarter of the eighteenth century notably Pieter Tillemans and Pieter Angellis. There were smaller frequencies again for still-life, genre, architecture and allegories. In the following sections a discussion of individual prices paid for paintings illustrates the extent to which Flemish painting competed with Dutch painting in terms of price.

5.5.1

Flemish Landscape Paintings

The summary of prices in Table 18 below illustrates the average price paid for Flemish landscape painting. The mean value of £39.20.0 has been affected by the exceptionally high value for a single painting of £550.00.0, therefore the mode at prices above £0.00.0 to £5.00.0 is a better measure of the average price paid at auction sales by English collectors during the period of this study. The findings illustrated in a summary in the Appendix to this chapter show that by far the highest frequencies were for landscape paintings by Paul Brill (1554-1626), which received prices of £10.00.0 - £14.00.0. However, there was an example of a view by Brill with figures by Carracci which sold for a mere £3.03.0. A grand painting entitled A view of Antwerp achieved what appears to have been among the highest price paid for landscape painting for the period. This painting combined the talents of four of the most outstanding masters notably Paul Brill, Rubens, Gillis and Velvet Breugel, and was purchased by the

Duke of Portland for the grand sum of £551.05.0 at a sale of Luke Schaub's collection in 1758. Schaub had been ambassador to the British Government in Paris during Sir Robert Walpole's term of office, which gave him the opportunity to acquire a fine collection of paintings.

TABLE 18  
SUMMARY OF PRICES PAID FOR FLEMISH LANDSCAPE PAINTINGS  
1711-1759\*

| N   | MEAN  | MEDIAN | TRMEAN | STDEV | SEMEAN |
|-----|-------|--------|--------|-------|--------|
| 16  | 39.2  | 3.8    | 5.3    | 136.6 | 34.2   |
| MIN | MAX   | Q1     | Q3     |       |        |
| 0.9 | 551.2 | 1.6    | 9.7    |       |        |

HISTOGRAM of the # prices listed in the summary in the appendix.

| N = 16   |       | N = 15   |  |
|----------|-------|----------|--|
| Midpoint | Count | Midpoint | Count,<br>[adjusted scale (minus the<br>upper value £550)] |
| 0        | 15    | 0        | 9  |
| 50       | 0     | 5        | 2  |
| 100      | 0     | 10       | 4  |
| 150      | 0     | 15       | 0  |
| 200      | 0     | 20       | 0  |
| 250      | 0     | 25       | 0  |
| 300      | 0     | 30       | 0  |
| 350      | 0     | 35       | 0  |
| 400      | 0     | 40       | 0  |
| 450      | 0     | 45       | 0  |
| 500      | 0     | 50       | 0  |
| 550      | 1     | 55       | 0  |

The prices paid for paintings by such artists as Velvet Breugel, Jacques Fouquier, Abraham Genoels were not recorded, but landscapes by Breugel (probably Jan Breugel I) were well represented in the sales.

On the whole, paintings by F. Mille (probably Francesque Millet) were low to moderately priced, ranging from £1.12.0 to £10.00.0. An example listed was A View and its companion by Pieter van Bloomen reaching a modest £4.08.0 in the sale room.

A landscape with figures by the highly acclaimed artist Teniers seems to have been one of the most highly priced paintings at an average price of £32.11.0, which compares well with prices for the

better Dutch, Italian and Venetian masters of this genre. The Brill landscape combining the talents of three masters together was one of the most exceptional paintings of the period.

### 5.5.2

### Flemish Portraits

Table 19 below shows that there were small frequencies of Flemish portraits in English collections and the scale shows that the majority of portraits were quite low in price. The range was from over £0.00.0 to £35.00.0 with a mean of £12.30.0 and the mode at around £5.00.0 Comparing these latter prices with Dutch portraiture it is obvious that Flemish portraiture, although low in price brought about twice the value of Dutch portraits at auction sales. This appears to be due to a large proportion of portraits by such famous masters as Sir Anthony van Dyck, followed by smaller frequencies of paintings by Sir Peter Paul Rubens, Anthony Mor, David Teniers and Eduard Dubois.

TABLE 19  
SUMMARY OF PRICES PAID FOR FLEMISH PORTRAIT PAINTINGS  
1711-1759\*

| N    | MEAN  | MEDIAN | TRMEAN | STDEV | SEMEAN |
|------|-------|--------|--------|-------|--------|
| 8    | 12.30 | 9.77   | 12.30  | 12.14 | 4.29   |
| MIN  | MAX   | Q1     | Q3     |       |        |
| 1.05 | 35.70 | 2.64   | 19.69  |       |        |

HISTOGRAM of the \* prices listed in the summary in the appendix.

| Midpoint | Count |
|----------|-------|
| 0        | 1 *   |
| 5        | 3 *** |
| 10       | 0     |
| 15       | 2 **  |
| 20       | 1 *   |
| 25       | 0     |
| 30       | 0     |
| 35       | 0     |

The highest prices recorded were for paintings of the Duc. d'Orleans by Rubens at £35.14.0 at Dr. Bragge's in 1750; and another

example King James I on a Grey Horse by the same artist for £21.00.0. It would have been interesting to compare the prices for Rubens and van Dyck, but unfortunately very few prices for van Dyck's portraits were recorded. A single painting of Charles I on horseback by the English artist Old Stone, after the famous van Dyck original, brought £15.15.0 at the financier Scawen's sale in 1742. Concerning the fact that most of van Dyck paintings were placed in the category "working in England", - it is necessary to emphasize here that although we cannot say that all van Dyck's paintings were produced in England at the time, the fact that he served a considerable amount of time painting for English clientele, must have contributed to the diffusion of knowledge about this master's work. The popularity for van Dyck's work can be judged by the numbers of copies on the market. A systematic selection from the Houlditch catalogues gave greater information about the prices paid for van Dyck's paintings. There were many portraits after van Dyck which were very low priced at just over £1.00.0,<sup>196</sup> and the average price was £9.00.0 to £13.00.0.<sup>196</sup> In fact the copy by Old Stone mentioned above seems to have been a bench mark figure for good copies after Van Dyck. One noteworthy picture listed in the Duke of Chandos's sale (1747) was the Van Dyck self-portrait with a sunflower. The highest price was awarded to a single history painting by Van Dyck entitled The discovery of Achilles by Ulysses at £150.00.0 <sup>197</sup>. A systematic selection and cataloguing turned up a large number of paintings by Van Dyck, at prices ranging from as little as seven shillings (7/-) for a small half-length portrait after Van Dyck at the artist Sir James Thornhill's sale to £14.00 for a portrait of The Queen Mother at the artist Mr Jervas's sale (1739/40).

Prices for a Rubens painting of An Old Man's Head at James Thornhill's sale fetched a below average price of £1.6.0 and at John

van Spangen's sale (1747/8) a portrait of An Old Woman's Head sold for an average figure of £7.00.0 . On the other hand, history paintings by Rubens were very popular amongst English collectors and they were willing to pay above average prices to acquire them, which will be discussed in greater detail below.

### 5.5.3 Flemish Biblical History Paintings

The evidence from the sample suggests that English collectors acquired small numbers of biblical histories by Flemish artists which were third in importance after Flemish landscapes and portraits.

A summary of prices paid for Flemish biblical histories in the Appendix shows that collectors acquired a wide variety of paintings by famous Renaissance and sixteenth century artists. There were for example, single paintings by such artists as Quentin Massys (1464/5-1530), Frans Floris (1516/20-1570), Franz Francken (1542-1616), Paul Brill (1554-1626) and Jan Breugel (1568-1625), Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) and Van Dyck (1599-1641) along with a smaller number of less well known seventeenth century masters in English collections of the period.

TABLE 20  
SUMMARY OF PRICES PAID FOR FLEMISH BIBLICAL HISTORIES  
1711-1759\*

| N    | MEAN  | MEDIAN | TRMEAN | STDEV | SEMEAN |
|------|-------|--------|--------|-------|--------|
| 7    | 7.32  | 4.30   | 7.32   | 8.72  | 3.30   |
| MIN  | MAX   | Q1     | Q3     |       |        |
| 0.42 | 21.52 | 1.15   | 18.07  |       |        |

HISTOGRAM of the \* prices listed in the summary in the appendix.

| Midpoint | Count |
|----------|-------|
| 0        | 3 *** |
| 4        | 2 **  |
| 8        | 0     |
| 12       | 0     |
| 16       | 0     |
| 20       | 0 **  |



A paucity of information in the random samples concerning price paid in auction sales prevented a thorough comparative analysis of price. For example, Table 20 shows that there were only seven paintings with prices which is probably too small to be representative, but the total sample size (19 Flemish Biblical Histories) was small anyway, compared to 35 Italian paintings of Biblical Histories.

However, of the few prices recorded, Velvet Breugel's painting of The Tower of Babel sold for £21.10.6 and Sir Anthony van Dyck's Adoration of the Shepherds at £18.01.6 appear to represent a benchmark figure for Flemish biblical histories. (see Appendix). However a systematic survey of prices for Dutch and Flemish paintings in the Houlditch Catalogues indicated that biblical and mythological histories by these latter meritorious masters achieved prices far in excess of prices above. One example is a painting of a grand subject by Rubens and Velvet Breugel entitled The Graces unveiling Nature which brought the grand sum of £225.15.0 at the sale of Sir James Thornhill's pictures in 1735. Similarly, at the Duke of Portland's sale in 1722, a number of history and portrait paintings by Rubens were sold at prices varying from as little as £15.15.0 for A portrait of Mary de Medicis to paintings valued at over £200.00.0. Another peak price of £206.00.0 was paid for a classical painting of a Bacchanal. Collectors were even prepared to bid beyond this price for such paintings as Rubens' painting of a Roman Charity purchased by the Duke of Marlborough for £500.00.0 <sup>199</sup>.

5.5.4            To summarize this sale room activity, the average prices paid for Flemish landscape painting were not higher than Dutch and Italian landscapes. There were higher prices recorded for Flemish portraiture due to the fact that there was a propensity to collect paintings by famous artists notably Rubens and Van Dyck or

copies after their works. The prices in the sample for biblical histories had the widest range from the very lowest prices to among the highest for the period. However this was a common characteristic of the prices at auction sales in general throughout the period irrespective of country of origin or subject matter. It appears that the prices paid for biblical and mythological histories by meritorious masters had the edge over landscapes and portraits, but this was sometimes only a marginal difference.

An important observation linked to chapter four is the fact that both samples showed that there had been an increased propensity to collect genre paintings although the frequencies were small, while the numbers of droll paintings had dropped significantly and were becoming quite rare in sales which confirms that a change in taste occurred favouring genre paintings over drolls and low-life subjects.

#### 5.6.0

#### FRENCH PAINTING

The samples indicated that during the eighteenth century there had been an increased propensity to collect French paintings which were acquired while on the Grand Tour and from dealers such as Dr. Bragge and Andrew Hay who made large profits from the importation of paintings from abroad in the 1730s. However, there were a few paintings in the samples by French artists who had been invited for short periods under the sponsorship of English patrons. Antoine Watteau (1684-1721) spent a brief period with Dr. Mead, before returning again to Paris. Although it is not known whether the paintings represented in the sample were actually painted by Watteau while living in England the fact that he spent some time here meant that his works were classified as "working in England" because this seems to have been an important factor in contributing to the knowledge of an artist's work.

The highest frequencies in English collections were for French landscape paintings by French artists working abroad, that is thirty-two (32) paintings - 68.1 per cent of the total of all French paintings in Sample 1, and twenty-two paintings ( 22) in Sample 2 - 55.0 per cent of all French paintings. The most frequently mentioned landscape paintings were by Gaspar Poussin (called Gaspar Dughet) (1615-1675), Nicholas Poussin (1594-1665) and Claude Gellée called Lorrain (1600-1682), and paintings by these artists were in great demand during the eighteenth century . French still life were also appreciated but the frequencies were low with only seven paintings in the sample which represented 12.3 per cent of the total for French painting. Most of these (62.5 per cent of total French paintings) were by a single artist - the works of the much admired Baptiste Monnoyer a painter of flower pieces who died in London in 1699.

Smaller frequencies were recorded for genre paintings by both Watteau and Jean-Baptiste Pater (1695-1736); and again small frequencies were recorded for biblical histories by Charles-Joseph Natoire (1700-1777) and Antoine Coypel (1661-1722).

#### 5.6.1 French Landscape Paintings

Turning back to a review of the summary of prices paid for French paintings in the appendix, it is apparent that just over half of the French landscapes range in price from £2.00.0 to £8.00.0 while at least another third were above £30.00.0 reaching as high as £89.00.0 for a single landscape by Claude Lorrain.

TABLE 21  
SUMMARY OF PRICES PAID FOR FRENCH LANDSCAPE PAINTINGS  
1711-1759\*

| N    | MEAN  | MEDIAN | TRMEAN | STDEV | SEMEAN |
|------|-------|--------|--------|-------|--------|
| 39   | 19.13 | 8.50   | 16.36  | 20.79 | 3.33   |
| MIN  | MAX   | Q1     | Q3     |       |        |
| 2.05 | 89.25 | 5.25   | 35.70  |       |        |

HISTOGRAM of the \* prices listed in the summary in the appendix.

| Midpoint | Count |       |
|----------|-------|-------|
| 0        | 8     | ***** |
| 10       | 16    | ***** |
| 20       | 4     | ****  |
| 30       | 1     | *     |
| 40       | 7     | ***** |
| 50       | 1     | *     |
| 60       | 0     |       |
| 70       | 0     |       |
| 80       | 1     | *     |
| 90       | 1     | *     |

The summary in Table 21 above shows that in addition to Italian Architectural views of Canaletto, French landscapes by Poussin and Lorrain appear to have been very popular amongst English eighteenth century collectors. This was probably due to the fact that these were the works of a group of Italianate-French artists painting classical landscapes. The mean was £19.30.0 which is somewhat inflated by the few exceptional paintings at the £80.00.0 - 90.00.0 range. The mode (at £10.00.0) can be regarded therefore as the best value for determining the average price paid. The majority of Italian landscape paintings were also priced around £10.00.0 while the majority of Dutch landscapes were priced at around £5.00.0, although there were some highly priced Naturalistic Dutch landscapes by Wouwerms and Van der Neer which appear to have been equal in value to the best French and Italian landscapes.

The highest frequencies were for paintings by seventeenth century artists - Nicholas Poussin (1594-1665), Jacques Courtois (1621-1676), Claude Lorrain and Gaspard Dughet (1615-1675). The highest prices however were for paintings by Lorrain which sold for prices

ranging from £6.06.0 to £89.05.0. Landscapes by Gaspard Dughet, achieved above average prices of £44.02.0, and in the same league, A wood of Vincennes with figures by Watteau reached £47.00.0. in Paris's sale of paintings in 1743.

#### 5.6.2 French Genre Paintings

The sales catalogues indicate that there was a propensity to collect French genre paintings but only a small number of those selected by the samples were priced. There were a few interesting examples however, notably paintings by Watteau, Boucher and Pater (the highest at £16.00.0), suggesting that French paintings in the Rococco tradition were in vogue amongst English collectors. The frequencies than for French genre were very low but the prices ranged from the lowest of £2.00.0 to just over £16.00.0 which appears to be considerably lower than genre paintings by noteworthy Italian and Dutch masters.

TABLE 22  
SUMMARY OF PRICES PAID FOR FRENCH GENRE PAINTINGS  
1711-1759\*

| N    | MEAN  | MEDIAN | TRMEAN | STDEV | SEMEAN |
|------|-------|--------|--------|-------|--------|
| 8    | 11.21 | 13.82  | 11.21  | 5.78  | 2.04   |
| MIN  | MAX   | Q1     | Q3     |       |        |
| 2.50 | 16.27 | 4.52   | 16.14  |       |        |

HISTOGRAM of the \* prices listed in the summary in the appendix.

| Midpoint | Count |
|----------|-------|
| 2        | 1 *   |
| 4        | 1 *   |
| 6        | 0     |
| 8        | 1 *   |
| 10       | 0     |
| 12       | 0 *   |
| 14       | 2 **  |
| 16       | 3 *** |

The findings summarized in the Appendix indicate that genre paintings by Watteau (1684-1721) were among the most popular, and most frequently represented in English sales. Prices for this master's work ranged from £3.09.0 for a Musical Conversation purchased at Rongent's sale by Sir Ian Chapman. On the other end of the scale, a painting entitled A Young fortune-seller with a young lady was purchased for £16.05.6. Conversation pieces by Jean-Baptiste Pater (1695-1736) at £14.00.0 and Francois Boucher (1703-1770) £16.05.6, were among the highest prices paid for genre painting in the samples. These latter prices can be thought of as a benchmark to compare prices paid for older seventeenth century Italian and Dutch genre.

#### 5.6.3 French Still Life Paintings

Table 23 below summarizing the prices paid for French still life painting suggests that English collectors acquired still life pieces but less frequently than Dutch still life and the prices at auction sales during the period were very low ranging from £2.00.0 - 4.00.0 at the lowest to prices above the mean at £16.00.0 for the work of a single artist notably Baptiste Monnoyer a Huguenot artist who received commissions from William and Mary in Holland and England. It is difficult to judge how the prices paid for French flower-pieces compared with Dutch still life paintings as there was a paucity of information concerning the price obtained at auction sales.<sup>122</sup>

TABLE 23  
SUMMARY OF PRICES PAID FOR FRENCH STILL LIFE PAINTINGS  
1711-1759\*

| N    | MEAN  | MEDIAN | TRMEAN | STDEV | SEMEAN |
|------|-------|--------|--------|-------|--------|
| 5    | 5.38  | 3.20   | 5.38   | 5.81  | 2.60   |
| MIN  | MAX   | Q1     | Q3     |       |        |
| 2.30 | 15.75 | 2.35   | 9.50   |       |        |

Cont/...

Table 23 (Continued)  
HISTOGRAM of the \* prices listed in the summary in the appendix.

| Midpoint | Count |    |
|----------|-------|----|
| 2        | 2     | ** |
| 4        | 2     | ** |
| 6        | 0     |    |
| 8        | 0     |    |
| 10       | 0     |    |
| 12       | 0     |    |
| 14       | 0     |    |
| 16       | 1     | *  |

Still life and flower pieces by Baptiste Monnoyer (1634-1699) were acquired by English collectors and the samples indicate that customers at auction sales paid from £2.08.0 for A piece of flowers and £2.06.0 for its companion at Sir William Willy's sale, to £15.15.0 for a large painting of flowers at Blackwood sale in 1750. It is difficult to determine whether the range in prices was affected by such factors as the esthetic merit of the painting and quality, but price alone seems to suggest that collectors of above average means were undoubtedly willing to vie with each other to acquire works which had greater aesthetic appeal. This implies that less aesthetically appealing works, along with copies and attributed work tended to attract less interest by collectors and therefore the low prices reflected this choice.

#### 5.7.0

#### GERMAN PAINTING

The findings from the two samples indicate that German painting was collected in smaller frequencies than during the previous century (see Tables 3 and 4, Chapter Four). The range in prices from the sample was from £4.00.0 to £15.00.0, and the frequencies were really very small. However, the pattern of collecting various subjects appears to have been similar to the previous era. The only difference is, that during the eighteenth century small frequencies of genre

painting began to appear in the auction sales. This represented the work of the Rome based painter Adam Elsheimer (1578-161-) whose work not only influenced Dutch landscape painters, but even more profoundly the work of such Dutch history painters as Lastman, Moeyaert and Pynas.<sup>200</sup>. A painting by Elsheimer in Streater's sale in 1711, entitled A small oval conversation and its companion piece, sold as a pair to Mr. Lovejoye for as little as £4.10.0. This price seems to have been a bench mark for Elsheimer paintings. An unidentified buyer Mr. Mackenzie bought both paintings entitled A small landscape of Tobit and the Angel, £2.01.0, and its companion for £1.12.0. Since Elsheimer's paintings were already rare at the time of his death it seems likely that these few extremely low priced paintings were probably copies after Elsheimer. As early as 1600 engraved reproductions of Elsheimer's paintings were being produced by the amateur artist Hendrick Goudt which enabled Elsheimer's work to be diffused amongst artists and collectors <sup>201</sup> Elsheimer's Tobias and the Angel engraved by Goudt in 1613 in fact matches the title of the print in the sale, which suggests that diffusion through the media of engraving enabled copying by other artists to take place.

Portraits by Sir Godfried Kneller had higher frequencies in the sample. At the Duke of Chandos's sale in 1747 Mr. Houlditch recorded A whole length portrait of the Duke of Marlborough. In a sale of pictures at Prestages in 1752 A half-length of the Duke of Somerset was sold and lastly, at the Duke of Ancasters sale [date unknown], a portrait of Queen Anne was listed for sale. Unfortunately Mr. Houlditch did not record the prices for these latter paintings. A painting entitled A portrait of a man by Hans Holbein was listed in Bragge's sale of pictures in 1755. This painting was bought by Colonel Elliot for £9.19.6.<sup>202</sup> The examples in the second sample show a range of prices for Holbeins work from £4.00.0 to £14.00.0 <sup>203</sup>



However in the second sample, the findings illustrated that Holbein's Landscape with figures was among the most highly favoured at £31.10.0.<sup>204</sup>

A few religious histories in the sales catalogues included the pair of paintings of Tobit and the Angel by Elsheimer, (already described above), and two paintings by Hans Rottenhammer. The summary in the Appendix shows that in 1758 Lord Duncannon bid £11.00.6 for Rottenhammer's painting entitled A Holy family with Angels.<sup>205</sup> Another a mythological history painting entitled Mars and Venus was purchased by Mr. Houlditch (probably Richard Houlditch Jr.) for £15.15.0 at the auctioneer Mr. Prestages sale of pictures in 1759.<sup>206</sup>

#### 5.8.0

#### BRITISH PAINTING

Referring again to the frequency distribution in Table 3 and 4 it was not surprising to find that in English collections the highest frequencies were for portraiture first, with a frequency of 10 (representing 58.8 per cent of total British paintings). In terms of actual prices portraiture appears to have achieved the highest prices for British painting ranging from £2.00.0 to prices just above the £16.00.0 range. This was followed by very small frequencies for biblical histories and landscapes, followed by seascapes, mythological histories and still life. The second sample shows some variation from the first with fewer portraits and still life.

The chief portrait paintings in English sales were by William Dobson, Charles Jarvis, Jonathon Richardson, Riley, Old Stone, and an artist called Sykes probably the miniaturist Franz or George Sykes. The second sample added portraits by Isaac Fuller and Old Sergeant Streater. A detailed examination of the subject matter and price shows that in most cases no price was mentioned, and since this was

not a constant variable in the sample it made it impossible to arrive at any conclusions about the price of British portraiture compared to Dutch or Italian examples. However, the examples which can be quoted included a half-length painting of Lord Fairfax by Dobson which was listed in a sale of Sir John van Spangen's pictures and bought by Captain Bodens for a mere 19 shillings, and painting of A Moor's head was sold for £1.14.0 at Mr. Norton's sale in 1739.<sup>207</sup>

In the latter sale a half-length portrait by Riley of A Lady was sold to an unidentified buyer for £1.01.0<sup>208</sup> At Lord Orford's sale in 1741/2 a half-length portrait of King Charles II by Riley was purchased by "Smart" (possibly the poet Christopher Smart) for £11.11.0.<sup>209</sup> The highest price was for Old Stone's copy of van Dyck's grand painting of King Charles I on horseback, which sold for £15.15.0 at a sale of the merchant-banker Mr. Scawen's sale in 1742/3.<sup>210</sup> This latter price can be compared with a similar subject painted by Dobson which was valued at £4.00.0 in 1721 by an appraiser for the collection of Mathew Prior.<sup>211</sup> In 1721 Edward Harley, the second Earl of Oxford, acquired Prior's collection at the appraiser's valuation. Prices at this time were consistently lower than those on the market seventy years later. At least half of the total 71 paintings were priced from less than £1.00.0 to just over £1.00.0; and about half again were priced from £2.00.0 to £6.00.0 for a 'mixed bag' of Italian, Dutch, Flemish, German, French and British paintings. In the same catalogue, Dixon's painting of Christ taking (sic.) [being taken down] down from the Cross after van Dyck priced at £4.00.0, seems to form a benchmark figure for paintings by meritorious British masters after exemplary works by van Dyck.<sup>212</sup> The highest priced painting was a mythological subject painted by the Dutch forerunner Abraham Bloemart which was valued at £10.00.0<sup>213</sup> Portraits of Waller the Poet and A profile of Queen Caroline by Charles Jarvis were

sold at two separate sales but the price was not recorded by Mr. Houlditch. Again, at Lord Orford's sale in 1741/2, the price for a half-length portrait by Jonathan Richardson of the renowned eighteenth century writer of prose Mr. Alexander Pope was unrecorded.

Histories by James Thornhill achieved fair prices, particularly a landscape with ruins by Pannini in which Thornhill painted the figures which sold for £7.00.0 at the sale of the artists work after his death in 1734.<sup>214</sup> At the same sale a landscape by Thornhill sold for £5.00.0.<sup>215</sup> On the other hand Old Cook's painting at Thornhill's sale entitled Saint John preaching in the Wilderness sold for as little as £1.11.0.<sup>216</sup> In the second sample Thornhill's painting of a ceiling piece entitled The feast of the Gods brought £3.05.0 and its companion Apollo, the Muses sold for £2.02.0.<sup>217</sup>

The evidence suggests that portraits, religious and mythological histories and paintings by seventeenth and eighteenth century British artists appear to have commanded slightly lower prices than Italian and seventeenth century Dutch paintings. There were certainly no outstanding prices in the samples of highly acclaimed masterpieces above £30.00.0 or £100.00.0 which were evident in the Italian and Dutch samples.

#### 5.9.0 Summary of the Main Points

The sale catalogues for the period 1711-1759 indicate that there was a wide propensity amongst English collectors for the acquisition of landscape paintings by Dutch artists notably picturesque works by Wouwermans and Van der Neer whose paintings showed the unmistakeable influence of the Italianate-Dutch Romanists. Dutch and Flemish landscapes were roughly matched in price at £0-5.00.0 and were about half the cost of Italian landscapes (£5.00.0 - 10.00.0) which probably aided the diffusion of Dutch painting to

collectors with modest discretionary incomes and therefore lower prices had greater reach and were available to a wider group of collectors.

Italian and Venetian architectural views by seventeenth and eighteenth century artists and classical landscapes by French seventeenth century masters were also popular and challenged prices paid for the best paintings by Dutch landscape artists. '

Surveying the general trends over the period of this study the data suggests that although there had been a propensity to collect drolls and low-life paintings in the seventeenth century this taste gave way to an increased interest in acquiring edifying histories and genre which had become symbols of status for moneyed men . In fact result of the analysis of sales catalogues show higher frequencies of mythological (classical) histories by well considered sixteenth and seventeenth century Italian, Venetian and Flemish masters, and also elegant genre pieces by seventeenth century Dutch, French and Italian masters. In fact commentators indicated that this was not a simple regional or national change in taste but an international one - united by the influence of the French court and the authority of the French Royal Academy. Although paintings by Renaissance masters were present in sales catalogues throughout the period of this study, generally speaking works by Italian, Venetian and German Renaissance masters were extremely rare. A detailed discussion of the way in which Dutch painting competed in terms of price with other European paintings and the effect of the sale room on the prices paid for the work of native British artists will follow now.

In the seventeen-eighties and in more recent times, commentators noted that prices for paintings at auction sales were generally cheap during the first half of the eighteenth century, however none of them compared prices of paintings with other luxuries to show how prices paid for Dutch paintings for example, compared with Italian paintings at auction sales. As a result, it is difficult if not impossible for researchers to determine exactly what 'low' or 'cheap price' for paintings means for the period. This thesis has attempted to correct these omissions by providing a scale of reference illustrating the average prices for various subject matter by country of origin covering the period 1711 to 1759. Using the analysis provided by this research it is now possible to illustrate exactly what low and high price means in relation to the average. In recent articles on collecting during the eighteenth century researchers have often mentioned various prices paid for paintings acquired by private or public sale information which is interesting for its own sake but one is unable to determine exactly what is significant about a painting by Jan Steen at £34.00.0 for example, or £69.00.0 for a Rembrandt without reference to some kind of scale of values. The statistical analysis of prices in this study enables this kind of evaluative judgement to be made about the price of paintings during the first half of the eighteenth century.

In the 1780s an anonymous writer of the Desenfans sale catalogue noted that paintings were cheap during the first quarter of the eighteenth century because of three determinates: firstly, a buoyant art market depended on a large number of highly motivated collectors competing against each other at auction sales; 210 secondly, resiliency in terms of price required an audience which was

knowledgeable about the history of painting, and which artists constituted the most highly acclaimed; and thirdly, but closely related to the latter, price elasticity depended on an audience which was knowledgeable enough to be able to differentiate between copies, fakes and genuine originals.<sup>219</sup>

Although general inferences can be made from the speculative boom in 1689 that the public were comparing the opportunity cost gained from one investment to another, there is insufficient evidence to show that paintings were able to challenge investments in government bonds. In fact there appears to have been little difference in terms of the opportunities gained, for example, long-term investments in government bonds were yielding 3-4 percent while the return on paintings based on two case studies was 3-5 percent, so that the Pears hypothesis that paintings were a poor investment can only be tentatively accepted. <sup>220</sup>

What is certain however, is that paintings competed in terms of price and the audience at auctions must have been interested in determining what were the opportunities to be gained by investing in Dutch painting compared with Italian or some other kind. The analysis of each type of painting by country and the histograms in the appendix of this chapter show quite clearly that Dutch and Flemish painting was lower in price overall than Italian and French paintings. It is important to keep in mind here that people with disposable income could choose from a variety of investments and probably made the same kinds of decisions as we do today about opportunity cost of an investment and its rate of return in the future. Since the suggestion is that government bonds or some other investments gave a slightly better return than paintings it appears that there were probably other factors motivating the collector to purchase paintings at

auction sales. This suggests that factors such as the purchase of paintings for aesthetic as well as economic reasons were the chief motivating force. The cost of a painting seems to have been directly related to provenance and to having prior knowledge of the paintings to be sold within a eminent collection. This particular problem seems to have received considerable publicity at various times from the 1730s onwards.

Uncertainty in the attribution and provenance of paintings at auction sales kept prices low on the whole. As early as the 1730s Hogarth in competition with old master paintings made a well-known plea about the ship loads of fakes and copies which collectors were buying in preference to contemporary British paintings; and again in the 1780s the anonymous author of the Desenfans collection noted that low prices for paintings was due to the fact that firstly, there were dealers who continued to pass copies and fakes off as original works in the sale room, and secondly, that collectors lacked the knowledge in judging various styles of painting to identify originals and fakes. It must have been obvious to the eighteenth century collector that buying paintings involved greater risks and responsibilities than simply buying stocks and bonds. Collecting required an intellectual knowledge of the most highly acclaimed artists and experience enabled collectors to recognize originals from copies. The writer of the Desenfans catalogue stressed that the growth of a knowledgeable sales room audience was directly related to buoyant prices for authentic works in the sale room :

In point of advantage ... it must be pronounced that a prudent and judicious collector cannot more usefully amuse himself for the more universal the knowledge of art becomes, the more the fine pictures are enhanced in their value. <sup>221</sup>

In a footnote Lippincott (1983) noted that : " the majority of pictures sold at auction were very cheap going for one to ten

pounds each ";<sup>222</sup> and referring to two catalogues from the Houlditch collection namely the Duke of Portland's sale and Mr Van Huls sale the latter author observed that : "small Italian histories and landscape paintings were making prices between £10 and £40".<sup>223</sup>

This independent observation by Lippincott using two principal collections from the same set of sale catalogues also used for this thesis, is interesting because different methods were used but both arrive at the same conclusions about the range of price for Italian paintings. These results suggest that the majority of paintings sold at auction were cheap which is verified by this thesis, (see statistical analysis in Chapter Five and summaries in Appendix 5). Furthermore the latter author noted that "some auction buyers seem to have concentrated their funds on one very expensive picture - a 'centre-piece' - and then laid out the rest on cheap 'wallpaper'",<sup>224</sup> indicating that collectors acquired both first-rate and second-rate pictures. This is perhaps the first attempt to show that there was an average price range which could be acquired by an expanding group of consumers of art earning moderate incomes . However, the most interesting feature of the analysis of prices in the appendices of this chapter suggests that average price varied according to country of origin. Other variables such as the fame of the artist, the subject matter, and the provenance of the painting were also influential in deciding the price ultimately paid. The most important feature is that an analysis of average price paid for each of the six countries shows that the average price range in England varied according to country of origin. For example, the average price for Dutch painting was £5.00.0 ( with a range from above £0.00.0 to £22.00.0); the average price paid for Flemish painting was £2.00.0 (the range from £0.00.0 to £20.00.0). For Italian painting the average price paid for paintings at auction sales was stronger with an average of £10.00.0



and the range was above £0.00.0 to £40.00.0); Venetian painting had an average of £21.00.0 (with a range from £5.00.0 to £35.00.0). For French painting the average price paid was £10.00.0 (with a range from above £0.00.0 to £40.00.0). There were a few German and British examples but these were too small to be able to calculate with any degree of certainty the average price and the price range. These results indicate that there were small variations in the prices paid for paintings. There were larger numbers of Dutch and Flemish paintings at the lowest prices which could be afforded by collectors on modest incomes and therefore Dutch painting had greater reach in the population ; while on the other hand Italian and French painting was almost twice as expensive on the average than Dutch and Flemish painting. The average price paid for Venetian painting seems to have been the strongest with even less reach than Italian and French prices.

The range of prices indicates that while the average price paid was from just above £0.00.0 to £10.00.0 there was a spread in price beyond the average, which did indeed include fewer numbers of higher priced paintings; which distinguish so-called 'centrepieces' as distinct from cheaper decorative 'wallpaper' at average prices as indicated by this study. In fact using the Houlditch sales catalogues Lippincott estimated that sixty-two of Arthur Ponds patrons spent £17.00.0 at eighty-nine auctions (about £275 each) so that "when the sixty-two buyer 'centrepieces' are excluded, they paid about £ 14.00.0 per picture - ..." which is a fairly close estimate of average price as demonstrated by this study.<sup>225</sup> This seems to be confirmed by the modal value (as a class of price) as indicated in the appendix, but the spread to the upper prices levels suggests that there were a few paintings falling into the 'centrepiece' quality which were well above the mean and modal values (as a class). However, the greatest

challenge to Dutch painting in auction sales came from Italian, Venetian and French painting.

The discussion of the kinds of subject matter for each country which formed part of this analysis suggests that sixteenth and early seventeenth century Mannerist and Baroque Italian history paintings were among the highest priced works at auction sales, along with French classical landscapes by Poussin, Gaspar Dughet and Claude Lorraine. Dutch Italianate paintings by Poelenburgh, Berchem and Both were also popular as were those of Wouwerman and Wijnants. Venetian veduti by Canaletto and the Dutchman Van Wittel (Italianised to Vanvitelli or Occhiali) were among the most highly sought after during the eighteenth century. In a league on their own but not less expensive were highly finished genre paintings by flinschilders Gerard Dou, and Franz van Mieris, genre and history paintings by van der Werff. In fact a perusal of the sales catalogues indicates that variety of style and subject matter characterised eighteenth century sales.

Since the evidence suggests that prices for paintings were low on the average for most of the period, then how did these prices compare with the prices paid for paintings by contemporary British artists, books, furnishing, and clothing ?

The fact that there was so much variety available at low prices appears to have forced native artists to structure prices around average prices paid at auction sales. For example Lippincott noted that the artist-engraver Arthur Pond charged about £14.00.0 for a large copy.<sup>226</sup> The significance of this is that portrait painters satisfying a contemporary demand like portrait photographers of today were less affected by competition from the sales of old master paintings than subject painters. Lippincott summed the matter up as follows:

As a portrait rather than subject painter, Pond was not seriously threatened by the dealers' activities or by the competitive frenzy that sometimes visited the buyers at auctions, choosing to profit from it instead by dealing and selling through the auctions himself. <sup>227</sup>

This suggests that native artists survived by serving the growing need for portraiture whereas native painters of 'subject pieces' (landscapes, still life and genre ) were forced to compete against European paintings at auction sales. Contemporary artists made ends meet by fulfilling the demands in various areas of the market, through the sale of copies and prints after old masters, by selling works accumulated from trips to the Continent, by acting as agents for collectors. Apart from old master paintings collectors also wanted portraits in memory of particular occasions such as marriage, birth and inheritance. The prices seem to have varied depending on the experience of the artist, but since there was such a large number of portrait painters and no real hierarchy until the 1750s, prices appear to have been fairly stable. Prices undoubtedly inflated during the period as demonstrated by the work of Arthur Pond, however, there were a few artists who won the respect of patrons and earned fees which were equal to some to the highest priced old master paintings. This is summed up succinctly by Lippincott:

By 1751 Allan Ramsay was able to charge £12.12.0 for a head, as opposed to Pond who asked £10.10.0 in 1750. In 1752 Ramsay claimed to have earned £1,000.00.0 from painting and although Ponds income was just as high, only about half came from painting. <sup>228</sup>

As already noted contemporary artists were forced by competition to work in a number of areas of the art market. According to Pye (1845) contemporary artists were employed in painting ceilings and staircases, but more frequently, the compartments over chimneys and doors were filled with copies of landscapes by contemporary artists, rather than genuine originals, which were commissioned for a mere forty or fifty shillings. However, according to Pye this

fashion appears to have declined with the establishment of exhibitions for native artists which began in the early years of the 1760s.<sup>229</sup> It was through continual competition and exposure through small commissions in varied but connected art forms of painting, printselling and dealing that English artists earned the respect of English patrons. High prices for paintings by contemporary natives were paid by John Fourth Duke of Bedford. In 1738 he bought two shipping pictures by Samuel Scott for sixty guineas; two landscapes by Gainsborough which were intended as chimney pieces were purchased in 1755 for twenty and fifteen guineas; and the Duke of Bedford paid fifty guineas for a landscape by Lambert in 1756, <sup>230</sup> seems to suggest that these latter artists had earned the respect of their patron to be awarded prices which were considerably above the norm.

The low cost of purchasing paintings seems to have competed with the price of such items as books, clothing, and furniture. Paintings in the lower end of the market appear to have competed with the prices paid for books. For example, a novel cost seven shillings and six pence, while on the other hand history and belles lettres were a guinea.<sup>231</sup>

The relative cheapness of paintings can be determined by examining what consumers paid for other luxury items such as materials for clothing which were purchased at fashionable mercers in London and made up to order. An examination of the costs of dresses (mantau and petticoat) for women and suits for men appeared to vary considerably during the period depending on the occasion for which it was made. In 1723 Lord Fermanagh paid what appears to be a moderate £2.8.3 for a cloth suit 'complete with buttons, lining wadding and stiffening ribbons and silk twist', but Lady Fermanagh complained that the tailor Mr Palmer 'spoyles [sic.] everything he makes'. <sup>232</sup> In May 1736 Henry Purefoy had a very unsatisfactory suit made up by John

Boyce a London tailor for a total cost of £13.15.0. <sup>233</sup> Lower priced articles of clothing were available in the City and Covent Garden. These shops called warehouses sold ready made items such as great coats, cloaks, riding hoods, bed gowns, quilted petticoats for women, morning gowns, and masquerade habits. In 1773 the cost of a great coat purchased at a second hand shop in Rosemary Lane cost ten shillings and six pence (10/6). Waistcoats made to order cost about sixteen shillings (16/-) which was cheaper than buying the material and having the item made up by a tailor. <sup>234</sup>

A suit of scarlet velvet made for Lord Riverstone in Paris in 1763 cost £27.10.3 plus a fee of £2.05.6 which was paid to Captain Cheney for bringing it in duty free. <sup>235</sup> It became customary for the well to do to have clothing made in Paris as a means of avoiding duty, because unlike materials, ready made clothing was regarded as a personal item. This however did not apply to imported materials. Since such clothing was often poorly made or ill fitting they were usually altered by tailors or dress makers (called a mantua-maker) in London. The cost of labour to make up the gown was only a very small portion of the total price. In 1724 eighteen yards of white and silver silk for Lady Jemima Grey's wedding mantua cost £45.00.0. Elizabeth Ackers received a mere sixteen shillings (16/-) to make the dress and eight shillings (8/-) for a satin night gown. <sup>236</sup> In the 1750s and 1760s Lady Anson and Marchioness Grey purchased material described as a blossom and silver pink, of pluye d'argent (silver ground with blossom like frosting) which was purchased from Mr Carr a popular mercer, for £3.10.0 per yard (about £63.00 for eighteen yards). A set of detailed directions supplied by the clients to Mrs Lafare the mantua-maker indicates that the client dictated the fashion of the time. <sup>237</sup>

The greatest competition in terms of discretionary spending came from the purchase of materials for curtains and for furnishings.

The outlay must have been considerable as illustrated by the cost of silks and other materials outlined above. Although the costs for furnishings probably varied considerably depending on the resources and disposable income of the consumer, the examples above indicate that the cost for materials must have been higher than the cost of paintings. Silk damask cost per yard as much as oil on canvas. "Gold lace for the state bed at Houghton cost Sir Robert Walpole £1,200 in 1732, while his four Van Dyck portraits were valued at less than half the sum".<sup>236</sup>

This comparison of costs involving price competition and discretionary spending on luxuries such as clothing and furniture suggests that the price of secondary old master paintings at auction sales were really very cheap indeed as writers during the period and later noted. The major contributing factor to low prices in the art market was probably due to the sluggish state of the economy during this transitional period.

The market was generally uncertain and the risks for the investor appear to have been high due to the large number of copies and fakes in the market which depreciated the value of genuine and original works. Paris auctions did not begin until the middle of the eighteenth century and therefore Amsterdam and London seem to have held the monopoly as the main centres for the sale of paintings by auction for the whole of Europe. Judging from the names of the principal sellers and buyers appearing in the Houlditch sales catalogues it is obvious that paintings came from a number of sources, both domestic sales and from Continental collections which investors brought to England for sale. These were notably members of the Italian, Portugese, Flemish, Dutch and Huguenot French communities in London. Names such as John van Spangen, William van Huls, the Marquis Cassanedi; Palavicino family (merchants and political agents);

Mr. de Pestors, Chevalier Couvry, Geminiani (the musician) , Rongent, Gouijns, Joseph van Haecken (artist), Scheemaker ( probably the sculptor), Mr. da Costa (a Jewish merchant), Mr. Mendez, Menageot, Mr. de Bary, Signor Sterbini, Van der Gucht, Lucas Schaub, ambassador to Paris and many others were prominent in the sales catalogues. The sales catalogues also listed a small number of European purchasers - John van Neck, a wealthy merchant and financier of Dutch origin who had settled in London in the early 1700s. Van der Gucht was a very strong and frequent collector of paintings during the period; Heidegger the German composer, and an unknown Gascoigne completes the list. There were probably many more buyers of European origin at sales during this period but the sample indicates that the Houlditch father and son made frequent omissions in recording the names of many collectors of paintings.

Considering the question of the diffusion of the knowledge of painting from one social class to another, the evidence suggests that there was no vertical diffusion of the kind which McKendrick (1983) discussed in his work on the growth in the market for Josiah Wedgewood's pottery and its diffusion from the upper classes to the lower social orders. <sup>239</sup> Painting in the sale room was a commodity which only gained value according to what the market would bear, that is, what the purchasers were willing to pay for it, in competition with each other. What can be determined however, from the small and incomplete data is that the 'audience' for the purchase of paintings fell into a fairly narrow group of upper classes (that is, the wealthy Lords and upper gentry), and a middling group of gentry and professional people, some of whom held official positions in trade, finance and government affairs. These included Lord Coleraine, the Duke of Bridgewater, Lord Ancaster, Sir Paul Methuen (envoy to Portugal), Sir John Barnard, Dr. Mead (physician to the King), Charles

Jennens, and a modest investor Roger Harenc along with numerous unknown names of collectors purchasing paintings in the lower end of the market, which suggests that they were probably also professionals of modest means. The differences in the investment behaviour of these two types of collectors is interesting.

Briefly then what is apparent from the random sample is that collectors paying the highest prices for the most sought after works, were mostly the great Lords, (such as the Duke of Portland who purchased a Flemish landscape by three meritorious artists for over £500.00.0) with a few of the wealthier merchants and professionals also purchasing paintings at above average prices. The purchasers of paintings at average and below average prices were a mixed group of professionals with a small number of aristocrats also purchasing paintings at this level. This evidence although tentative seems to confirm the eighteenth century view <sup>240</sup> that since wealth was 'more equally diffused in England' (than in France) this allowed large numbers of private people to form collections of their own. Modern commentators noted that as early as the 1650s there had been a growth of income amongst middling men (yeoman and artisans), merchants and traders and after the 1680s a shift in wealth from land and agriculture to trade, business and industry, so that by the turn of the century merchants had acquired higher incomes than the lesser gentry.<sup>241</sup>

The random sampling methods used in this study gives a representative view of the popularity for certain kinds of paintings and the prices which were reached in auction sales during the period 1711- 1759. The findings support the statements made late eighteenth century commentators that prices for the majority of paintings irrespective of country of origin were generally low for the entire



period. A summary of prices for each country is attached in the appendix, but specifically it shows that the main competition was between Dutch and Italian paintings in terms of actual numbers. It should be mentioned here that the higher total frequencies in numbers for the Italian examples in the appendix summary was probably due to the fact that the Houlditch father and son took greater interest in recording the prices for Italian paintings as a total, and paid less attention to recording the names of purchasers of Dutch painting. One possible reason for these omissions is explained by the fact that Italian paintings were almost twice the price of Dutch painting as shown in the histogram of total price by subject matter and country of origin in appendix.

The frequencies for French paintings were small but challenged Italian painting in terms of price, along with Venetian paintings, mainly the work of contemporary artists of landscape and architectural views which appeared to compete in price for the above average Dutch landscapes. Under these circumstances there was very little scope for the sale of contemporary British art in auction sales. A few contemporary artists such as Pond and Hogarth tried to sell their own productions by auction but were not very successful.<sup>242</sup> The summary in the appendix indicates that the prices for British painting of the previous century were generally very low indeed, even less than Dutch painting. The prices paid for contemporary British painting during the 1730-40 period indicates that native artists like Arthur Pond were forced by the price structure at auction sales to value their paintings according to the average price of about £10.00.0 to £14.00.0. However, artists appear to have raised portrait prices as a result of demand and after 1750 the evidence suggests that prices varied a great deal reaching highs of £300.00.0. The price for Pond's full-length portraits in oil rose from £16.16.0 in 1738-43 to £36.15.0 in 1748-

50, but the fees for paintings by Thomas Hudson were 30 per cent higher again at £46.0.0. Eventually Pond lost business to superior portraitists like Ramsay, Hudson, Highmore and Knapton.<sup>243</sup> Confirmation has been provided by a recent article by Francis Russell (1988) which notes that the John Fourth Duke of Bedford commissioned paintings by contemporary portrait artists at prices equal in value to

a few of the highest priced old masters at auction sales:

Isaac Whood received £294.13s.4d. for a series of portraits on 19 January 1747-48 and Knapton's family group of 1754 cost 160 guineas. Gavin Hamilton's large allegorical portrait of the Duke's second wife cost no less than £300 in 1756, an exceptional price for a portrait that would be banished from the State Drawing Room by the sitter's grandson.<sup>244</sup>

It will be recalled that the prices paid for few of the most admired seventeenth century Dutch portrait painters such as Rembrandt's A young lady threading a Needle reached £16.16.0 (lot #48, Mr Paris's sale, 1743/4); and a Rembrandt self-portrait at Dr. Mead's sale (lot #39, (2nd.day, 1754) was purchased by the portraitist Hudson, for £12.01.6; Govaert Flinck's Half-length portrait of a Lady sold for £15.15.0 (lot #65 (2nd. day), Mr Blackwood's sale, 1757); Peter Lely's The Duke of Portsmouth, an original half-length reached £14.13.6 (at Christopher Cock's sale in 1744), suggests that these were paintings which can now be regarded as falling within the average price range for paintings at auction sale, which seems to have dictated what modest contemporary artists charged for portrait paintings. The increased propensity to acquire portrait paintings seems to have kept prices for this genre bouyant during the period. While on the other hand mere copies of landscapes and subject paintings by contemporary natives met the greatest challenge from Dutch landscapes which could also be purchased for £5.00 or less at auction sales during the first half of the eighteenth century.

The diversity of the art forms sold at auction sales at prices which can be considered to have been cheaper than most other luxury

goods undoubtedly encouraged the diffusion of art to a wider audience at auction sales. This meant that public sales manipulated the market to the extent that native contemporaries were unable to compete with the very low prices for a wide market for subject pieces - landscapes, genre and still-life. In fact competition of this nature forced native artists to seek new and innovative ways to penetrate the art market through a combination of art forms - printing, painting and art dealing. In doing so they gradually earned the respect of patrons of the arts both at home and abroad.

### CONCLUSIONS

In 1689 the Glorious Revolution sparked a volatile period of speculative activity as the public clambered to support Parliament's plea for public funds and this activity also involved the liquidation of material assets such as paintings at auction sales. For the art market these circumstances produced a revolutionary trend - the beginning of a boom in public sales of paintings which revealed a vast preponderance of seventeenth century Dutch paintings, which had been collected during the bouyant years of trade growth after the sixteen-fifties .<sup>1</sup> The findings suggest that the demand<sup>2</sup> for paintings by a new moneyed class of middling men, merchants and industrialists was satisfied in part by the production of large number of 'trade-mark' paintings by Dutch artists in Holland and after the Restoration by Dutch artists residing in England. One can infer from this activity that the collecting of seventeenth century Dutch painting in England in fact parralleled the flourishing production of art during Holland's Golden Age, and after the Interregnum, a shortage of skilled British artists and conflicts abroad encouraged Dutch artists to settle in England to satisfy a growing demand. As a result the native tradition appears to have been submerged by foreign 'talent'. The demand for Dutch art in England was not an isolated event however but was parralleled by cross-cultural exchanges in scientific knowledge, in industry and engineering, commerce and banking, in building and furniture-making and in artistic endeavour throughout the century.

The 1689 boom in auction sales foreshadowed the end of an era when collectors were predisposed by circumstances to collect Dutch

paintings. The turning point was marked by The Act of 1695 which permitted paintings to be imported for public sale - henceforth exposing the public to all of the variety of an International art market.

The sudden and volatile growth in the numbers of auction sales which began in 1689 and reached its zenith in 1691 was the result of the public's response to Parliament's appeal for funds to carry on a 'vigorous' war against France. The promise of higher returns on investments in England brought the transfer of wealth from English holdings abroad so that there was high liquidity for the buying and selling of commodities which included paintings. In fact the speculative trend at auction sales lasted until 1691 but declined thereafter when the numbers of purchasers in the market began to dwindle : the effect of the governments sumptuary quarterly Poll Tax encouraging saving instead of spending produced lower benchmark figures for even quality paintings, so that sellers began to take losses on paintings which had been purchased some years prior to the sale. The belief by researchers that the sudden boom in auction sales was due to a Dutch king on the throne or the fact that Dutch paintings were suddenly permitted entry into England from Holland with the 1689 Revolution proved to be unfounded. In fact the findings from the analysis of sale catalogues in Chapter Four confirmed that the boom in sales represented paintings which were in English collections acquired for private use and enjoyment. These included roughly equal numbers of paintings by Dutch artists residing in England and paintings produced in Holland which had been acquired more easily in the period of peaceful alliance after 1674.

In chapter four an analysis of subject matter of paintings and country of origin confirmed that Dutch painting was the predominate type of art collected and the frequencies for landscape paintings far exceeded any other kind of subject matter. It is significant that in accordance with the Ogdens' findings, Italianate-Dutch and Naturalistic Dutch paintings were equally widespread amongst collectors and there was not a marked preference for paintings by the former which tended to characterize collecting during the first quarter of the eighteenth century.<sup>3</sup> A statistical analysis had the advantage of illustrating the breadth of collecting during the period indicating that after landscapes the most frequently mentioned paintings were portraits by Cornelis Jonson, Lucas van Leyden and Jan Scorel; genre paintings by Schalken, Van Mieris including low-life paintings by Van Laer, Van Ostade, and Heemskerck; these were followed by Still life - mainly flower paintings by Jan de Heem, Heda, Willem Verelst with small competition from the Fleming Van Zon, Italian Campidoglio and French Huguenot Jean Baptiste Monnoyer; and lastly seascapes by Backhuizen, Porcellis and the Van de Veldes'. In accordance with expectation, there were very low frequencies for the collecting of Dutch religious painting while on the other hand although the frequencies were low generally, biblical histories and saints by Flemish, Italian, and Venetian artists were the predominant type of paintings for these countries. This is evidence to support the findings of Montias and others <sup>4</sup> that there was a small growth towards the end of the seventeenth century of mythological histories and figures of saints by Gerard de Lairese and Adriaen van der Werff based on the demands of a small wealthy upper class.

What was most revealing is that genre painting was characterized by high frequencies for droll paintings by two Dutch artists working in England notably Egbert van Heemskerck and Daniel Boon, while on the other hand elegant genre studies by Gerard Dou, Van Mieris, Ochtervelt, rarely appeared in early sale catalogues before 1695. However, as soon as auction sales were opened up to imported works from abroad, paintings by the latter artists appeared in sales catalogues more regularly. This suggests that paintings of rare quality which had been commissioned by Dutch patrons in the last quarter of the century were not available to English collectors until after 1695. After this period the findings suggest that two main incentives gave a boost to the art market : firstly, the establishment of the Bank of England gave security to investments at higher interest rates than in Holland with tax-free incentives on securities ; and secondly attempts to increase excise from imported luxuries including paintings encouraged Dutch capital and paintings of greater variety and quality to appear on the market.

After 1695 it is relevant to note here that there was no appreciable growth in the frequency of auction sales until 1714 when a peaceful resolution to the war with France brought about a strong growth in the importation of paintings from this source. The graphs in the Appendix to Chapter Three importantly show that 'Brodericks Act of 1722' provided incentives for the importation of paintings which coincided with increased supply from all countries after this date which challenged Dutch paintings in terms of sheer numbers.

It is a thesis of this study that Dutch paintings were able

to undercut the prices of other European paintings because as commentators noted it was available in large numbers at cheap prices. However, the conclusions are clear: Dutch paintings were indeed cheaper than Italian Venetian and French paintings as an average, but the statistical summaries indicate that these differences were not all that dramatic. Well considered Dutch landscapes by Jan Both, Wouwermans, Van der Neer, Ruisdael and Abraham Hondius for example, rivalled prices for Italianate landscapes by the German artist Peter Roos (called Rosa of Tivoli) Francesco Lauri and Zuccarelli; Italianate-Dutch Occhiale's paintings commanded prices equal to Canaletto and similar examples were recorded for classical landscapes by Claude Lorraine, Poussin and Gaspar Dughet and Watteau. There was a propensity to collect on the one hand classical landscapes depicting ruins - nostalgic allusions to 'the sun setting on the Roman Empire', and on the other hand realistic veduti by Dutch artists Van der Heyden and the Venetian artist Canaletto were in demand because they captured the immediacy of city views which collectors had seen during a Continental Grand Tour. This diagnosis suggests that reasonable price was not exclusive to Dutch painting, instead, collectors were able to choose from a wider variety of subjects and styles available and above average prices undoubtedly depended upon such variables as the fame of the artist and the attractiveness of the individual piece.

The findings also revealed a dramatic decline in the numbers of droll paintings which had been replaced by more genre and conversation pieces by a wider variety of Dutch masters previously unknown in the pre-1695 era. Although late seventeenth-century



critics objected to low-life painting and its ally, Restoration comedy, the evidence presented in the analysis confirmed that a change in taste had occurred and was paralleled by an increased supply and demand for Dutch genre and conversation pieces in the elegant hand of Van Mieris, Rembrandt, Schalken, Palamedes and Metsu. This latter taste also went hand in hand with an increased propensity to acquire mythological and religious history paintings by Italian, Venetian, French and Flemish artists.

It is important to mention that the growth in a market for contemporary art appears to have been hindered by the fact that the majority of paintings were available at auction sales for reasonable prices setting benchmark figures for contemporary art (particularly subject pieces), either at or below auction prices. This meant that artists earned fees well below the general cost of living. Reference was made to the fact that survival was contingent upon raising the cost of producing a single painting over time to keep up with the rising cost of materials and the cost of labour in order to make a profit. Unable to compete with all of the variety of subject matter available the living artist adapted by serving an immediate need - painting portraits of contemporary sitters and for this specialty the artist could command prices which were comparable with average prices paid for old masters at auction sales.

This leaves open to further research the question of whether preference for collecting Dutch painting was strictly related to social class - that is, whether there was a strong propensity for the middling sort to collect lower priced Dutch in preference to higher priced Italian; or whether the type of art collected was wealth

rather than class related and whether collecting was affected by other considerations such as the desire to amass a balanced collection of well considered European masters for reasons of prestige, or social group conformity, or for speculative reasons. The ideal collection as noted by Martyn (1766) was one which contained a well balanced proportion of the most exemplary European masters and these ideals had already been put into practice by Sir Robert Walpole in the seventeenth-thirties.<sup>5</sup> To assess the extent to which collectors conformed to this ideal or deviated from it appears to have been contingent upon educational background and wealth rather than social class membership but this is a hypothesis for the commencement of another study.

NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE  
INTRODUCTION

1. Christopher Brown, Dutch Landscape Painting (Tyne and Wear: Tyne and Wear County Council Museums, Sept. 1983) pp. 6-7.

2. Frank Simpson, "Dutch Paintings in England before 1760", Burlington Magazine, vol. 95, no. 599 (Feb., 1953), pp. 39-42.

Simpson's analysis of sales catalogues for the period 1711-1759 shows the first Albert Cuyp for sale on 16th. March 1641 at Edmund Glover's sale, lot # 58, Landscape with Cattle, sold for £1.2.0; and the first painting by Meindert Hobbema, sold by Dr. Bragge in 1749, lot #56, Landscape with figures by Adriaen van de Velde, was sold to Sir E. Littleton for £48.6.0.

3. In commencing this study, an examination of provenance of seventeenth century Dutch paintings using National Gallery, the Wallace Collection, and the Wellington Collection catalogues confirmed that it was impossible to trace provenance of paintings back into the eighteenth century or earlier.

4. Christopher Wright, Old Master Paintings in Britain (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet Publications, 1976), vii.

5. Francis Haskell, Rediscoveries in Art (Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1976) p. 76.

6. Jo Lynn Edwards, 'Alexandre Joseph Paillet (1743-1814): The Study of a Parisian Art Dealer (University of Washington, Ph.D. Thesis, 1983), p.45.

7. Haskell, Rediscoveries in Art *op. cit.*, p. 76.

8. Ibid.

9. Frank Herman, The English as Collectors : A documentary Chrestomathy, (London : Chatto and Windus, 1972 ) p. 13.

10. William Buchanan, Memoirs of Painting, with a Chronological History of the Importation of Pictures by the Great Masters into England Since the French Revolution 2 Vols., (London: R. Ackermann, 1824), I: 22.

11. Christopher Hill, The Century of Revolution : 1603 - 1714 (Wokingham, Berks: Van Nostrand Reinhold (U.K.) Co. Ltd., 1961, 1988) p. 136.

Hill noted for example that : "Hitherto the main burden of taxation had fallen on merchants and smaller men of property. Now for the first time the gentry were made to pay a substantial proportion. One landed family was paying a quarter of its income in taxation between 1643 and 1646, one eighth in the sixteen-fifties. At the same time excise taxed the poor." See also H.J. Habbakkuk, 'English Landownership, 1680-1740', Economic History Review, X:8-9.

12. H. J. Power, The Making of a Metropolis : 1500 to 1700 edited by A. L. Beier and Roger Finlay (Harlow, Essex: Longman Group Ltd., 1986) pp.202-215.

13. George Redford, Art Sales: A History of Sales of Pictures and other Works of Art, 2 vols. (London, 1888), vol. I, preface.

14. Algernon Graves, Art Sales from Early in the Eighteenth Century to Early in the Twentieth Century, 3 vols. (London, 1918), I, p.19.

15. Ibid.

16. British Museum Library: Sale Catalogues, 1402.9.1; Lot#13, 4th May 1689.

17. BML: Sale Catalogues, op. cit., P. 19

18. BML: Sale Catalogues# 140. 1. e., Lot 39, 3rd April 1690, portraits by Franz Hals, one described as a head and the other a boy laughing.

19. Henry V.S. Ogden and Margaret S. Ogden, English Taste in Landscape in the Seventeenth Century, p. 88.

20. Gerald Reitlinger, The Economics of Taste: The Rise and Fall of Objects D'Art Prices since 1750 3 Vols. (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1963 ), II , p. 37.

Reitlinger noted : " Dr. Fritz Lugt has recorded the existence of 96 printed English catalogues for the years 1691 and 1692 alone, the sales being most exclusively of pictures, but he can trace no Paris catalogues before 1699 and only three in the next 25 years."

21. Frank Simpson, 'Dutch Painting in England...' op. cit., pp. 39-41.

22. Ibid., P. 40.

Simpson wrote: "... it is not until 1741 that a noticeable change occurs. In this year Edmund Glover's sale contained two Hals, two Cuyps, and five van Goyens ... and in 1744 it is possible to find a catalogue containing as many as thirty Dutch pictures out of seventy-two .... Glover's sale of 1745 consisted almost entirely of works of the Dutch school...."

23. Gerald Reitlinger, The Economics of Taste, II, p. 37.

24. Henry V.S. and Margaret Ogden, English Taste in Landscape... op. cit., p. 88.

25. Ibid., p.91

26. Iain Pears, "The Growth of Interest in Painting in England: 1680-1768", Ph.D. Thesis, University of Oxford, 1984, p. 336

27. Ibid., p.286-87

28. Statutes of the Realm, 6 -7 William and Mary c.7, 1694, vol. VI, 1685-1694 (London, 1831), p. 584. "An Act for granting to his Maiestie several additional Duties upon Coffee, Tea, Chocolate and Spices toward Satisfaction of the debt due for Transport Service for the reduction of Ireland"

"... and a fund may be raised for the answering and paying to your Majesties said subjects the said and respective owners of the

... ship's interest for their said money from the first day of May 1695 for the space of Three years ...."

"For all Pictures imported within the time aforesaid whether for private use or sale which are hereby permitted to bee [sic] imported during the continuance of this Act any Law or use to the contrary notwithstanding £20.0.0 lawful English money per centum of the value".

29. Public Record Office, Calendar of Treasury Books 1669-1672, Prepared by William A. Shaw, (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1908), III, Part 2, pp. 1302, 1303, 1314, 1331.

The following notes underscore the main issues concerning the importation of paintings for private use and the interdictment to paintings for public sale. The underlining is my own.

An entry for 31 August 1672 notes: "Same to [the Customs Commissioner] to have opened and viewed at Sir Robert Southwell's house a case of pictures imported from Antwerp which are for the particular use of said Southwell, now resting in Custom's House".

5 September 1672 says: "The Treasury Lords to Customs Commissioner as to the petition from the Parish of Allhallows, Barking .... As to goods wrongfully brought into [customs] warehouses on pretence of seizure, whenever it shall appear to you that such seizure, either out of ignorance, malice or vexation you ought to order the delivery of such goods. As for pictures and gilt leather where they are not brought in for sale, but for the private use of gentlemen, you are to represent the particular cases unto us that so if we think fit they may be permitted to pay customs ad valorem".

Another record, dated 24 September 1672, states: "The Treasury Lords to the Customs Commissioner to permit John Jones, Merchant, to make entry of thirty (30) pieces of gilt leather, a case containing eighteen (18) pictures and two bundles containing picture frames imported by him for his own use".

30. Ogden, op. cit., p. 88, and Pears, op. cit., pp. 109-110. Pears says that according to Treasury Warrants, declarations were made for the importation of paintings for private use until 1680, after this there is no more mention of imported paintings. He assumed that the boom in auction sales in 1689 was the result of the relaxation in the customs laws whereby they "ignored" the importation of paintings for public sale, until it became law in 1695. The Ogden's noted that: "This practical alteration in the official attitude ultimately gained formal embodiment in 1695 with a law which for the first time permitted the importation of paintings...."

Since paintings were permitted to be imported for private use (but not for public sale), the above argument incorrectly assumes that paintings could not be imported at all before 1695.

31. Ogden and Ogden, English Taste in Landscape... op. cit., p. 88.

See also Iain Pears, The Growth of Interest in Painting in England 1680-1768, unpublished D.Phil. thesis, Oxford, 1984, pp.107-22.

32. The Treasury Warrants state that paintings were permitted entry providing they were for private use and not public sale until 1680-85. After this period no more warrants are mentioned. There is no evidence however to suggest that paintings were automatically permitted free entry after this date, (whether for private use or sale), without legislation proposing a change in the customs laws.

33. Danby Pickering, ed. The Statutes at Large ... 1413-1483, 110 Vols., (Cambridge: Joseph Bentham, 1762), Vol. 3, (Edward IV, c. 4.), pp. 355-57.

In addition see Ibid., The Statutes at Large from I Richard III to 31 Henry VIII. 1483-1539, 110 Vols., (Cambridge: Joseph Bentham, 1763) Vol. 4, (1. Richard III, c. 12, vol. 4, (1483), pp. 18-19.

"Certain merchandises prohibited to be brought into this realm ready wrought."

"... now so it is, that by merchant strangers, denizens, and other, there is brough into these parts from beyond the seas, to be sold within this realm of England, as much wares as may be wrought and be made by the artificers above rehearsed, that by reason thereof the people of Strange countries where the said wares be made, be greatly occupied and increased, and the said artificers in this realm greatly impoverished...."

"... That no merchant stranger ... shall bring into this realm of England to be sold any manner of ... painted papers, painted forcers, painted images, painted cloths...."

34. Ibid.

35. Danby Pickering, ed. The Statutes at Large: from the 32nd year of King Henry VIII to the 7th year of King Edward VI inclusive. 1540-1553 110 Vols., (Cambridge: Joseph Bentham, 1763), vol. 5, pp. 342-343, outlines the Act as follows:

The 3 and 4th reign of Edward VI c. 10 (1549-1550): "An Act for abolishing and putting away of diverse books and images" was passed and included the following provisions:

When parliament gave official approval and recognition to "The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and ceremonies of the Church of England" under Edward VI, the following measures were also enacted to ensure its survival as the official religion: Any books (such as antiphones, missals, grailes, processionals, manuals, legends, journals, primers, portuasses in Latin or English) were to be abolished. For religious images the Act reads as follows: "And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any person or persons, of what estate, degree or condition soever he, she, or they be, body politick or corporate, that now have or hereafter shall have in his, her or their custody, any [of] the books or writings of the sorts aforesaid, or any images in stone, timber, alabaster or earth, graven, carved or painted, which heretofore have been taken out of the church or chapel, or yet stand in any church or chapel, and do not before the last day of June next ensuing deface and destroy or cause to be defaced or destroyed the same images, and cause to be delivered all and every same books to the mayor, bailiff, constable, or church-wardens of town, where such books then shall be ... delivered ... to the archbishop, bishop, chancellor or commissiary of the same diocese ... [shall] cause them immediately either to be openly burnt or otherwise defaced and destroyed ...."

These acts were repeated for each successive reign following, to Charles II; and religious pictures were first interdicted under James I (1605), See Statutes at Large: from 39th of Q. Elizabeth to the 12th of King Charles II inclusive. 1597-1660 (Cambridge, 1763), vol. 7, ch. 5, p. 162.

36. Concerning the interdiction of pictures by customs officials see : Journals of the House of Commons: from April 13th 1640

in 6th year of ... K. Charles I. to March 14th 1642 in the 18th year of K. Charles I (London, 1642), vol. II, ch. 1, pp. 757, quoted the following warrant:

"ordered; That all the pictures belonging to the French Painter that are in the Custody of the Committee for Informations, that are Pictures of our Saviour, or the Virgin Mary, or other superstitious Pictures, shall be demolished; and the rest all delivered".

See also, Susan Foister, 'The Tudors and England: Collections and Collectors', History Today, vol. 35, (Dec. 1985): 21-22. Using Art Historical material, (instead of the legal issues described above) this author noted that there was a virtual disappearance of religious images by Elizabeth's reign: "By Elizabeth's reign, however, the St. John's head was entirely a phenomenon of the past, along with most other alabaster works, and, indeed, most sculpture, it vanished from the household inventories ... the new emphasis was very much on pictures, particularly secular subjects, among which portraits were to the fore."

An extract of the Act of 1695 has been provided in the Appendices of this thesis.

37. Haskell, Rediscoveries in Art op. cit., p.76.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

1. Brian Learmount, A History of the Auction, (London, 1985) p. 17. noted that one charter 'by a charter of Henry VII, confirmed by Charles I, The business of selling by auction was confirmed to an officer called an Outroper, and all other persons were prohibited from selling goods or merchandise by public Claim or outcry'. Other references consulted for the beginning of auction sales in England were: Peter Ash, "Fathers of Auctioneering : The Lad from Leicester" The Estates Gazette, (Dec. 22, 1962), Vol. 184, pp. 866-869.

Ibid., p. 868. The letter was written in London on 25th June, 1697 by Edward Millington, and addressed to Revd. Joseph Hill, a non-conformist minister.

Idem., The Estates Gazette, 'Fathers of Auctioneering: 4. Millington, Publick-Salesman' (Jan 12, 1963) Vol. 185 p.123

2. Learmount, A History of the Auction, op. cit., p. 17.

See also The Second Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Municipal Corporations in England and Wales op. cit., p. 114, Item 246.

3. Corporation of City of London, Records Office Rep 94, fo 22 (1688 to 1689); See Appendix .  
See also London Gazette A2405, (Mon Nov 26 to Thurs Nov 29 1688). The entry is dated 18th October 1688, which says the office was admitted under a Charter of Elizabeth I and Charles I.  
Another reference : The Second Report of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the Municipal Corporations in England and Wales (London, 1837), p. 114, Item 246, gives a description of the functions of the 'Outroper' (also called Common Crier and Sergeant at Arms); 'This Officer was also the Outroper; that is he had to take an inventory and dispose by auction, of Orphans, goods, when they were placed under the care of the Common Sergeant. But this duty has become obsolete!' Later it came to include the auction of all household goods and chattels within the City for the benefit of the Orphans fund.

4. Corporation, City of London, Records Office. Misc. MSS 251.1 See Appendix .  
This entry is entitled: 'A report to the Recorder and Common Serjeant whether disposal of the Office belongs to the Court of Aldermen'. It seems that the Lord Mayor was considering disposing of the office but it is not known whether this was actually carried out or not. MSS 6 No. 14 (see Appendix.) is a petition to The King dated 26th June 1688 requesting a revival of the Outropers office and for extending jurisdiction of same to the Suburbs. See also Small MSS. 163.1 which refers to the revival of the office of Outroper, after some years of neglect, for the benefit of the Orphans Fund. (see Appendix D )

See also Corp. City of London Records Office, op. cit., MSS 6. No. 14

A report of John Howell (Recorder) and George Jeffreys (Common Sergeant), concerning "whether the disposal of the office of Outroper belongs to the Court of Aldermen" (7th December 1674), states briefly that the position of Outroper came under the jurisdiction of the Court of Common Council and the original Charter (established by Elizabeth I and Charles I), merely confirmed an ancient right of the City and Commonality. Thus any subsequent charters ( proposed by the Court of



Aldermen) intending to dispose of the office were not valid, since according to the Charter, "the office under the original Act of Common Council was still in force and the 'Swordbearer' (that is, 'Outroper') was to be duly admitted.

5. Jennifer Levin, The Charter Controversy in the City of London, 1660-1688, and its Consequences, (London: University of London Legal Series, 9, 1969), pp. 55.

See also J.R. Kellett. 'The Causes and Progress of the financial decline of the Corporation of London 1660-94', Ph.D Thesis University of London, 1952, pp 22, 294-318.

In 1683 Charles II issued a writ of Quo Warranto forcing the Corporation and the City Companies to surrender their charters. The City refused to comply with the King's orders. It was the opinion of the Crown that since the City had committed two "misdemeanours" (that is, for levying tolls on markets intended to be free and for printing a seditious publication libelling the King and his Government), they had relinquished their rights as a Corporation. The seizure of the City Corporation charters gave the King the power to govern the City at his own pleasure (through a "Custos"), whereas formerly he had been unable to do so, since franchise made the City autonomous. At the same time this situation also deprived livery companies of their charters, and also abolished certain offices under the Lord Mayor.

See also : 'The Worshipful Company of painters, otherwise Painters-Stainers : 400th Anniversary of the Grant of Charter by Queen Elizabeth I' (London, 1981) p.4.

This booklet stated that the Elizabethan Charter was cancelled when Charles II used a writ of Quo Warranto forcing the city companies to surrender their Charters (in 35th year of Charles II), but subsequently restored by James II in 1685. See also Statues of the Realm, (London 1831), Vol VI (1685-1694) 2 William & Mary ch. 8 p.171 (see Appendix No. for transcript of entry).

6. Jennifer Levin, The Charter Controversy, op. cit., pp. 55-56. On 4th October 1683, judgement was entered against the City, and London was governed without a Charter from that date until 1688. The effect of this on the government of the city is summed up as follows: 'The City was then governed by a Royal Commission, all officers appointed by the King to act during his pleasure'. The Lord Mayor and Sheriffs were replaced, by appointees of the King and eight Whig Alderman were also dismissed and replaced. The King appointed 16 Justices of the Peace. No Common Council sat from December 1683 until the liberties were restored in 1688. 'The Governing body of the City was the Court of Aldermen, but in fact it seems that Jeffries had the real power, the Mayor and Aldermen having to approach him before they could get to the King'. Revenues and land previously owned by the City were leased by the King to certain Aldermen on trust when they should have been returned to the owners upon dissolution of the Charters 'A number of sources of revenue were lost as a result of this Judgement (King Beam, Stillyard Beam, heated bailliage duties, tonnage, etc.) and a loss of credit, were factors which exacerbated the City's bankruptcy in 1693.

7. 'The Worshipful Company of painters otherwise Painters-Stainers:...' op. cit. p.4.

For reference to 'outside' Competition within the City, see previous reference.

8. Peter Ash, "Father's of Auctioneering: 4. Millington, Publick-Salesman", The Estates Gazette Vol. 185 (Jan. 12, 1963), p. 123.

9. Corporation, City of London Records Office. MS 6 No. 14.

10. Corporation, City of London Records Office MS 6. No. 14. See Appendix No. A

See also Corporation, City of London Records Office, Small MSS. 163.1 'Orphans Fund Origins, Miscellaneous Papers 1688-98'. See also Appendix No. D, in chapter two of this thesis.

11. Corporation, City of London Records Office; op. cit., MSS 6, No. 14.

12. J.R. Kellett, op. cit., p. 277

The economic circumstances of this reduction in power were given the following explanation: 'Since the boundaries of the Corporation were not extended to keep pace with the Growth of suburbs, the Corporation's fortunes were very intimately connected with the economic condition of the square mile', which was declining and loss of economic viability ultimately led to bankruptcy in 1693.

13. Journals of the House of Commons, Vol X (I William and Mary, 6th July 1689), pp 208-209.

14. Parliament and the Glorious Revolution 1688-1988, (London: Her Majesties Stationary Office, an exhibition catalogue July-October, 1988) pp. 22-23.

See also Parliament and the Glorious Revolution 1688-1988: List of Exhibits compiled by H.S. Cobb and D.J. Johnson (London: The House of Lords Record Office, an exhibition catalogue July-October, 1988) pp. 31-32.

15. Danby Pickering (ed) Statutes at Large from the First year of King William and Queen Mary to the Eighth year of King William III, Vols. 110, (Cambridge: Joseph Bentham 1764), Vol. IX, , pp. 263-266, 270-276

5 & 6 W & M C. 10, (24th June 1694): 'An Act for the Relief of the Orphans and Other Creditors of the City of London'.

See also: Danby Pickering ed. Statutes at Large, from the first year of King William and Queen Mary to the eighth of King William III (Cambridge, 1764), pp. 263-276. An act of 5 and 6 William and Mary, chapter 10; entitled 'An Act for the Relief of the Orphans and Other Creditors of the City of London', dated 1694.

16. Corp. City of London Records Office Guildhall Small MSS Box 6 No. 14 (dated 30 March 1710 and 6th June 1710)  
See also: Guildhall, Rep. 100 fo. 1226 (Mayor: Houblon. 1695-1696) An order dated. Thursday 10th June, 1696.

'It is ordered by this Court that Mr. Town Clerke doe [sic.] acquaint the Committee of Improvements that the Lease of the Office of Outroper of the City is expired and that this Court doth recommend it to them to dispose of the said office to the best advantage of the City '.

17. Ibid. See also the London Gazette No. 2388 October 1688.

18. London Gazette. No. 2405. Nov. 26-Nov. 29, 1688.

19. Corporation of City of London. Records Office, Repetory 94, Folio 22. Repeated in the London Gazette below, (# 2478, August, 1689).

20. Corp. City of London Records Office, Rep. 95. fo. 82b.

21. There is no record of this case on the date set by the Court; the only plausible assumption is that a hearing did not occur on this particular day, or that the proceedings were not recorded.

22. D.F. McKenzie, ed., Stationers Company Apprentices 1701-1800 (Oxford: 1978).

The editor notes that the names given are derived from account books of the first manuscript register of calls on the Livery, 1606-1800.

This register runs from 27 June 1606 to 5th April 1737; it also contains, lists of subscribers to the Company's barge and annual lists of the Master, Wardens, Assistants of Livery for the years 1742 to 1765. The Call of 19th June 1668 shows the following were freemen of the Company. William Cooper 6.6.1670 Mathew Gilliflower. (Reconstituted Livery as of 7 & 12 May, 1685).

Reconstituted Livery as of 3 August 1685

William Cooper  
Matthew Gilliflower  
Christopher Wilkinson

Liverymen Remaining 11 October 1687

William Cooper  
Christopher Wilkinson  
Matthew Gilliflower  
William Hensman

See also Henry R. Plomar, A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers Who were at Work in England, Scotland or Ireland from 1668 to 1725 (Oxford, 1922). pp 80-81, 207, 298-299  
For biographical information about William Cooper, Benjamin Watford and Edward Millington.

23. Michael A. Pearson, 'An Index to Liber A: A Volume of the Records of the Stationers Company of London for the period 1559 to 1791 M.A. University of Wellington, 1980.

'Liber A' May 1685, Fo. 392 this index noted that Edward Millington was "translated" (transferred) from the Haberdashers Company to the Stationers Company in May 1685.

24. Statutes-at-Large, 'A Proclamation for suppressing and Preventing Seditious and unlicenced Books and Pamphlets', James II 1687/8 .  
Another source: The Corporation of London Records Office; Rep. 98 fo. 79; Rep 99 Part I, fo 134; Rep 100 fo 506; fo 174, Rep 110, fo 195 (6) stated: The Order of Court 1st Feb 1693: 'That no alien endenized only and not naturalized nor the son of an alien to be admitted into the freedom of the City by redemption without especial reasons given for that purpose; nor that any alien endenized nor

alien's son be presented to be made free without particular notice thereof...'

25. Peter Ash, The Estates Gazette Jan 12, 1953. Vol 185, p.123.

26. Ibid, P.125  
See also London Gazette 2478. August 1689; and 2482 August 1689; 2486. Sept. 1689.

27. George Redford, A History of Sales and Pictures and Other Works of Art, Vol II (London, Bradbury Agnew and Co., 1888), xv

28. A.L. Beier and Roger Finlay, The Making of the Metropolis: 1500-1700, (Essex, 1968), pp 202-215.  
Basing his information on hearth taxes H.J. Power (1986) noted that while there was a central core of larger (wealthier) dwellings of the elite as would be expected (according to Sjoberg's thesis), there was also a peripheral area, of wealthy elite, which rivalled the City, beginning with the legal quarter (St. Andrew, Holborn, St. Dunston in the West, the Rolls Liberty, St. Clement Danes) of 'practicers, pleaders, judges of the law' and to the West around the curve of the river the wealthy parisher continued (the Duchy of Lanearter Liberty, St. Paul Covent Garden, St. Martin-in-the-Fields) graced with the residences of 'gentlemen and men of honour', As Poneer noted: "The Strand, in particular... had long been the aristocratic centre of London". John Stow had boasted in 1598 of the town palaces along its Southern side: Essex House Arundel House, Somerset House, The Savoy, Russell House, Cecil House, Durham House and York House. This is where the land- owners, statesmen and higher clergy had their homes rather than exclusively in the city centre. The poor on the other hand graduated to the peripheral areas away from these wealthy core areas, both in the City and the West.

As time went on, the occupationally disintegrated in the seventeenth century to give way to communities based on wealth (wealth zoning) rather than occupation (called occupational zoning). J.E. Vance agreed that most economically aggressive individuals used their property for profit, renting the upper floors, while the lower floors were used for business. Later they let the whole house and moved out of the City to be with others of equal prosperity to the suburbs of Covent Garden. As rents increased, the lower income groups were also forced out into 'less salubrious' suburbs such as Stepney and Southwark.

29. J.R. Kellet, op. cit., p. 276

30. Corp. City of London Records Office Guildhall Small MSS Box 6 No. 14 (dated 30 March 1710 and 6th June 1710) op. cit.  
See also: Guildhall, Rep. 100 fo. 1226 (Mayor: Houblon. 1695-1696) An order dated. Thursday 10th June, 1696.

31. J.R. Kellet, The Causes and Progress of the Financial Decline of the Corporation of London, op.cit pp. 142 - 143  
Guildhall, London, Rep 96. fols.6, 320, 349, 350 (dated 1692)  
Rep. 97, fol. 122 (1692).

One such enquiry was directed by the Corporation's Court of Common Council to inspect the records of Mr. Puckle, the Outroper at this time. The auditors inspected the records but could not understand them because they were in such disorder. A number

of petitions concerning competition by entrepreneurs were also included in the corporations records.

32. Journals of the House of Commons Vol. XI. 5 William and Mary 1693, p.14. This entry was entitled: A petition of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council of the City of London, presented to the House of Commons, 30th. November 1693. See Appendix No.C.

33. Kellet, The Causes and Progress of the Financial Decline..., pp. 316-18. See also Appendix C to this chapter.

34. Ibid., p.318.

35. Ibid., pp. 265, 267.

36. Ibid.

37. Guildhall, MSS, 6 No.14

38. Kellett, op. cit., p.268.

39. Fritz Lugt, etc. Sales No. 69 to 135.

40. London Gazette, (Jan. to Dec. 1691).

41. Pears, "The Growth of Interest in Painting...", op. cit., pp.119-120.

42. Guildhall, Small MSS Box 35 No. 15 and Misc. MSS 6 No. 14; See also Pears "The Growth of Interest in Painting...", p. 119; The fees charged are repeated in Guildhall Small MSS 163.1. (See Appendix to this chapter).

43. Guildhall, Ibid., Small MSS. 163.1. 'Orphans Fund Origins Misc. Papers 1688-98.

44. Ibid.

45. Journal of The House of Commons, Vol. 10, (1 William & Mary), pp. 208-209.

46. Ibid.

47. Danby Pickering ed. Statutes at Large, from the first year of King William and Queen Mary to the eighth of King William III (Cambridge, 1764), pp. 263-276. An act of 5 and 6 William and Mary, chapter 10; entitled 'An Act for the Relief of the Orphans and Other Creditors of the City of London', dated 1694.

48. Ibid.

49. Brian Dietz, 'Overseas trade and Metropolitan Growth' in The Making of the Metropolis... Ibid., pp. 115-117, 130-134.

50. Ibid.

51. Hill, The Century of Revolution... op. cit. p. 227-8.

52. Statutes of the Realm : 1685 to 1694 10 Vols. (London : Record of House of Lords, 1819) Vol 6, (1 Will. and Mary, ch. 13) pp. 63-70.
53. Homer, A History of Interest Rates..., op. cit., pp.149-50.
54. Ibid.
55. Statutes of the Realm ... op.cit 6: 63, 156.
56. Hill, The Century of Revolution...op. cit., p.233.
57. Statutes of the Realm...op. cit., 6: 302-308.
58. Ibid. pp. 309-310.
59. Ibid., p. 302.
60. Henry V.S. Ogden and Margaret Ogden, English Taste for Landscape in the Seventeenth Century, (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1955), p. 88.  
The same reasons for a boom in sales were given by Gerald Reitlinger, The Economics of Taste: The Rise and Fall of Objects d'Art Prices since 1750, 3 Vols, (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1961-63), II:37.
61. Ibid.
62. Danby Pickering, (ed), The Statutes at Large ... 1483-1539 110 Vols (Cambridge: Joseph Bentham; London: Charles Bathurst, 1763), Vol. 4, Ch. XII, pp. 18-19.  
1 Richard II, Ch. XII : 'Certain merchandises prohibited to be brought into this realm ready in ought'.  
Repeated: Statutes at Large... 1661-1685, op.cit., Vol. 8, Ch. XIII, (13 and 14 Charles 2nd) pp. 101-103.
- Calendar of Treasury Books 1681-1685, part 2, prepared by William A. Shaw, (London: His Majesties Stationary Office, 1916) VII, pt. 2, pp. 1410-1424.
- A petition dated Nov. 25th 1684 of Humphrey Jones, a tide-surveyor at London port, discovered a great quantity of pictures "being goods prohibited by the law to be imported into this Kingdom by way of merchandise" These goods were seized by customs and upon appraisal were claimed by the Earl of Exeter, "as imported upon his own proper use"; an application was made for the discharge and seizure. "Petitioner submits thereto and prays to be reimbursed the 30 l. charges he has been at herein.
- Another entry dated 1st Dec. 1684 stated that the Ear of Exeter's pictures consisting of the parcel seized by Humphrey Jones and another parcel of 45 pictures, imported by the Earl in 5 cases, were released on payment of customs duties ad valorem "it being affirmed by said Earl upon his honour in two letters to the Customs Commissioners of October 26th last that he said several pictures were imported for his own particular use for furniture of his house at Burghley and not for sale. [ A note in margin says cancelled 8 Mar. 1684-5].
63. Ibid.

64. Danby Pickering (ed), Statutes at Large Vol VIII, (Cambridge, 1763) Ch.XI, pp. 78, 81, 89, 177, 395.
65. Index Vectigalium or an Abbreviated Collection of laws, edicts, Rules and Practices Touching the Customs or Subsidies of Tonnage and Poundage as also Concerning the Exportation or Importation of all goods Wares and Warehouses out of, or into the Kingdom of England or Dominions thereof Together with the fees of Officers, Tares of Commodities, Rates of Scavage and Package, the Tallies Calculated for the Net Custom of all Goods Whatsoever. (London, 1670) pp 1-35.
66. Ibid., (14 Charles II, C.11), p. 22.
67. London Gazette No. 2516, from Thursday December 19th. to Monday 23rd, 1689.
68. Statutes of the Realm, op. cit., p. 584  
6 & 7 William & Mary C.7 1694:  
"An Act for granting his Majestic Several Additional Duties upon Coffee, Tea, Chocolate and Spices toward ..., the Reduction of Ireland" (see Appendix No. C & H) See also 3 & 4 Anne C.4 for continuing the duty on paintings at 20% ad valorem
69. Statutes at Large (5th year ... to 9th year of George I) op. cit. (8 George I, C.20 1721), p. 451  
Called "Brodericks Act" "... Several duties payable upon the Importation of Pictures" See Appendix No. 14.
70. George Vertue, Notebooks 3, Walpole Society, Vol 22 (Oxford, 1934) p.9  
A well documented note, see also Louise Lippincott, Selling Art in Georgian London: The Rise of Arthur Pond, (New Haven, Conn. and London: Yale University Press, 1983) p.102
71. Statutes at Large: 5th year ... to 9th Year of George I  
George I, C.20 op. cit.  
See also, London, Public Record Office, Inspector Generals Accounts 1696-1760 Customs 2 and 3 Vols. 6-60.
72. Louise Lippincott, Selling Art in Georgian London: The Rise of Arthur Pond, op.cit., pp.102,
73. Ibid.
74. George Vertue 'Notebooks' III Walpole Society Vol 22 op. cit., p.61
75. Giles Barber, 'Book Imports and Exports in the Eighteenth Century', Sale and Distribution of Books from 1700, edited by Robin Meyers and Michael Harris, (Oxford: Oxford Polytechnic Press, 1982), pp. 87-88, 90.  
Concerning 18th century book imports Barber noted: "Considering the import field overall one finds Holland well in the lead, closely followed by France, which is particularly strong in trade in bound books and generally in the later years.
76. Ibid., p. 88.

77. Ibid.
78. Barber, 'Book Imports and Exports, p. 81.
79. Ibid.
80. Frank Simpson, 'Dutch paintings in England before 1760', Burlington Magazine, 95, No. 599 (Feb. 1953) pp. 39-42.
81. Christopher Hill, The Century of Revolution : 1603-1714 (Wokingham, Berks. Van Nostrand Reinhold (U.K.) Ltd., 1961, 1988) p. 227.
82. Kellett, op. cit., p. 389.
83. British Museum BL 24/1 (2) Charles II, 12th June 1672  
Entitled: His Majesties ... Declaration for the Encouraging the  
Subjects of the United Provinces of the Low-Country's (sic), Transport  
themselves with their Estates, and to Settle in this His Majesty's  
Kingdom of England (see Appendix E).
84. Guildhall, London. Rep. 80. fo. 199 (1674-1675)
85. Ibid  
Another source : Nigel Surry, 'Hampshire Apprentices to the Painter  
Stainers Company their Professional Activities and Social Origins c.  
1660-1795', Proceedings of Hampshire Field Club Archaeological Society.  
37, 1981, p. 63.
86. Kellett, op. cit., p. 389.
87. Journals of the House of Commons op. cit.,  
I William and Mary C13, 1689.  
"An Act for raising money by Poll... and otherwise towards the  
relieving of Ireland". See also I.W. & M.c. 7 ; 2 W. & M. Session I  
C.2 ; 3 W. & M. C. 6 4 & 5 W. ' M.c. 14
88. Christopher Hill, The Century of Revolution...op. cit., p. 227.
89. Sidney Homer, A History of Interest Rates : 2000 B.C. to the  
Present (New Jersey : Rutgers University Press, 1963) p.149.
90. Robert Latham and William Mathews et al., The Diary of Samuel  
Pepys 10 Vols. (London, G. Bell and Sons 1972-76,) Vol VII (1666), p  
125.  
An entry dated 14-16 May, 1666, Pepys purchased a portrait of himself  
painted by the native artist John Hayls for £14. and he paid another  
25 shillings for the frame. In addition he also commissioned a copy  
of the latter portrait by Mr. Hills, which cost 7 shillings for the  
picture and 5 shillings for the frame, and the total amount cost him  
£22.10.0 and he was very pleased with the pictures.
91. Harry B. Wheatley ed. The Diary of Samuel Pepys 8 Vols.  
(London, 1949, 52) VIII:272; VII:108; IV:213n.
92. Iain Pears., The Growth of Interest in Painting in England op.  
cit., p. 168  
Hatton Correspondence, A letter from Sir Charles Hatton to an unknown  
correspondent, Jan. 28, 1691/2. Vol. 2 p.169



93. Harry B. Wheatley ed. The Diary of Samuel Pepys op. cit...  
VI- VIII: 272-273.

94. William J. Baumol and William G. Bowen, Performing Arts - The Economic Dilemma: A Study of Problems Common to Theatre, Opera Music and Dance (New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1966) pp. 390-91.

95. J. Michael Montias, 'Cost and Value in Seventeenth- Century Dutch Art', Art History, Vol.10, No.4, December 1987, p. 462.

96. Louise Lippincott, Selling Art in Georgian London: The Rise of Arthur Pond, (New Haven, Conn. and London: Yale University Press, 1983) pp. 76-77,80-85, 180n 3,4.  
Page 180 note 3 makes reference to the fact that even in the late seventeenth century Peter Lely and John Greenhill drew pastel portraits for English patrons.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

1. Sidney Homer, A History of Interest Rates (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1963) p. 147.
2. Ibid., p. 174.
3. Charles Wilson, Anglo-Dutch Commerce and Finance in the Eighteenth Century, (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1941), pp. 25, 200. See Also P.G.M. Dickson, The Financial Revolution in England: A Study in the Development of Public Credit: 1688-1756, (New York: Macmillan, 1967) p. 337.
4. Statutes of the Realm (1685-1694) 10 Vols, Chron. and Index (London: Record Office, House of Lords, 1819) VI: 323.
5. P.G.H. Dickson, The Financial Revolution in England: A Study in the development of Public Credit: 1688-1756. (New York: Macmillan 1967). pp. 332-333. See also Charles Wilson, Anglo-Dutch Commerce... op.cit. p. 144. Wilson noted that the period 1743-1763 represents a new period of financial activity - an extension of the public debt by issuing annuities in which Dutch capitalists participated, which brought more money into circulation.
6. Ibid., p. 332.
7. Fritz Lugt, Répertoire des Catalogues de Ventes Publiques intéressant L'art ou la Curiosité. 3 vols. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1938) première période vers 1600-1825, Vol I : 1 [List of Sales Catalogues Nos. 1-10].
8. Ibid., Lugt Sales Nos. 137 (March 1692); 151 (April 1693).
9. Ibid, Lugt. Sales No: 323.
10. P.G.H. Dickson, The Financial Revolution in England... op.cit., p. 153.
11. Ibid., p. 333.
12. Stefan van Raaij and Paul Spies, The Royal Progress of William and Mary translated by A.P.K. Graafland, (Amsterdam: D'Arts/De Bataafsche Leeuw, 1988) pp. 35, 44- 45.  
The chief designer and engraver of interiors of the period was Daniel Marot (1661?-1752), a Huguenot and son of Jean Marot a eminent engraver. In 1694 Marot worked for the English court having been invited by Queen Mary.
13. Gerard de Lairese, The Art of Painting in all its Branches Methodically Demonstrated by Discourse and Plates and Exemplified by Remarks on the Paintings of the Best Masters translated by John Frederick Fretsch, painter (London, 1738) pp. 129-30.  
Late seventeenth century taste dictated that paintings reflected the status and moral attitudes of the collector, so that appropriate placement for particular subject matter to impress one's visitors depending on rank became of primary importance in decorating city mansions and country houses. In a treatise on painting De Lairese admonished the prevailing taste for displaying low-life drolleries "and other things more filthy" in "beautiful halls or fine

apartments" and he noted that "if then ...these things raise and aversion" in the visitor it is because "they are too low and unbecoming subjects for ornament especially for people of fashion, whose conceptions ought to surpass the vulgar".

See also : 3. J.M. Montias. Artists and Artisans in Delft: A Socio-economic Analysis, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982) pp. 329- 330.

Montias noted that by the 1670's decoration in people's homes had changed; and the structure of society had also altered since the beginning of the boom in the arts (beginning in the 1630's and 1640's).

14. Leslie Roger, marketing the Visual Arts : Challenge and Response (Edinburgh: Scottish Arts Council, 1987) p.24.

See also another reference to audience studies concerning education, income and interest in attending art galleries, exhibitions etc. Arthur W. Meadows and Anne Warnock (nee Meadows), Subsidised Theatre in Australia (Sydney: A private publication, for The Australia Council for the Arts, 1974).

15. Elizabeth Gibson, 'The Royal Academy of Music 1719-28 : Directors ', Handel Tercentenary Collectioned. Stanley Sadie and Anthony Hicks (London: Mc Millan, 1987) pp. 138-164.

See ' Opera Finance' p. 140.

I am grateful to eighteenth century musicologists, Elizabeth Gibson and Carole Taylor, for their help in confirming my assumptions concerning the correlation between the 'consumption of culture', educational level and income.

16. Jim Murrell, 'The Craft of the Miniaturist', The English Miniature by John Murdock, Jim Murrell, Patrick J. Noon, and Roy Strong, (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1981). p.1.

17. Frank Simpson, 'Dutch Paintings in England before 1760' Burlington Magazine, Vol. 95, no. 599. Feb 1953.

Louise Lippincott, Selling Art in Georgian London: The Rise of Arthur Pond, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983).

See also: Francis Haskell, Patrons and Painters: A study in the relations between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque. (New Haven and London, 1980).

Another reference: Iain Pears, The Growth of Interest in Painting in England: 1680-1768, (Unpublished Ph.d thesis, University of Oxford, 1984).

18. Pears, The Growth of Interest in Painting in England...pp.131-157.

This thesis included a general account of a few notable eighteenth century dealers : Andrew Hay, Samuel Paris. and Robert Bragge.

19. Victoria and Albert Museum library, MS 86.00. 18-19 [Richard Houlditch, Jr.] Sale catalogues of the principal collections of pictures (one hundred and seventy-one in number) sold by auction in England within the years 1711-1759, the greater part of them with prices and names of purchasers.

20. Part I, Chapter II, pp. 106-107.  
Referring to auctioneers named in the Houlditch Sale Catalogues at the Victoria and Albert Museum Library.

21. Charles Wilson, Anglo Dutch Commerce and Finance in the Eighteenth Century, op. cit., pp. 93, 105, 106, 116.

22. Stefan van Raaij and Paul Spies, The Royal Progress of William and Mary op. cit., 1988) p. 18.

23. David Ormrod, The Dutch in London: The Influence of an Immigrant Community 1550-1800. (London: Her Majesties Stationary Office, 1973), p. 24.

24. Charles Wilson, Anglo-Dutch Commerce and Finance in the Eighteenth Century, op.cit., p. 139, 95-102 Dutch agents in London, acted as attorneys for speculation on the Amsterdam Bourse; as agents for financial transactions and trade which was more direct, no longer requiring a middle man.

25. London, Public Record Office, PRO 30/24/20/20 Shaftesbury papers. Correspondence between Anthony Ashley-Cooper (3rd Earl of Shaftesbury indicated that Benjamin Furley owned a "counting-house" in Rotterdam. John Locke and 3rd Earl stayed with Furley but the acquisition of Dutch painting was not mentioned.

26. Wilson, Anglo-Dutch Commerce... op. cit., pp139, 95-102.

27. Charles Wilson, Anglo-Dutch Commerce and Finance...., op.cit., p. 88.

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid.

30. W.A. Speck, Stability and Strife: England 1714-1760 (Bungay-Suffolk: Edward Arnold (Publishers) Ltd., 1984), pp. 123. 153-154.

According to Speck, the actual land tax paid varied greatly, for example, in East Anglia "where assessments had been reasonably accurate it could mean a 20% tax on rents" ... "Elsewhere the assessment tended to undervalue rentals" so that in the provinces the real rate was as low as one shilling in the pound. See also Mingay, op.cit., p. 82.

31. Ibid.

Speck noted that a combination of land tax since the Revolution and the incidence of indebtedness and a noted decline in the land market depended on location and efficiency of estate management. Furthermore he notes: "on the whole it seems that rents and therefore market values, at best remained steady and at worst declined under William and Anne.

32. Ibid.

33. London, Public Record Office, PRO. 30/24/20/20 Anthony Ashley-Cooper (3rd Earl of Shaftesbury), a letter from Rotterdam to his household at St Giles, November 6th, 1703.

34. London, Public Records Office, PRO. 30/24/22/6 Shaftesbury Papers. 'Copies of The Right Honourable Earl of Shaftesbury's Accounts from Mr Wheelock Steward. Recv. (sic) to L.D. (Lady Day) 1718, some of which ... L.D. 1704 with some remarks by I.D. Warner also are ... account ended ... Lady Day 1712 ...

Executor Mr Bryn Wheelock'. This gives an account of The Manors, Farms, Tythings, Quit-rents, Woods, and other estates belonging to the 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury, as of Feb. 1715-16 and included an Inventory of Goods at Naples and the goods and chattels in his house at St. Giles's, Dorset.

35. Ibid.

36. Christopher Hussey, 'St Giles's House, Dorset - II The Home of the Earl of Shaftesbury', Country Life, XCIV, Sept 17, 1943. p. 511. Noting the sparse collection the author says: "At St Giles's he left no direct impression besides a few classical pictures and the paintings referred to". This included ancestral portraits: The large drawingroom contained a portrait of The 1st Earl in Chancellors. Robe (probably by Peter Lely), flanked by three-quarter length portraits of The Second Earl and Countess Lady Dorothy Manners. An important pair of Salvator Rosa landscapes flanked the fireplace above which was a portrait of Sir John Cooper (father of The First Earl) by Cornelius Jansen, a portrait of The 3rd Earl and his brother Maurice by Closterman. The others included landscapes by Nicholas Poussin, and a painting commissioned by The 3rd Earl by Parlo de Mattheis of "The Judgement of Hercules" which was printed in a pamphlet by Shaftesbury entitled, "A notion of the Historical Draught of the Judgement of Hercules", included in all editions of his philosophical works collected in his book "Characteristics" (1711).

37. Roy Porter, English Society in the Eighteenth Century (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1982), pp. 222-23, 329.  
See also Phyllis Deane and W.A. Cole, British Economic Growth : 1688-1959, Trends and Structure, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962) p. 90.

38. John Downes and Jordan Elliot Goodman, Dictionary of Finance and Investment Terms. (New York: Barron's Educational Services, Inc., pp. 271-2.

39. Porter, English Society in the Eighteenth Century, op.cit., p.71. In this particular discussion Porter was quoting a passage from W.A. Speck. Stability and Strife..., op. cit., but there was no footnote reference.

40. Lawrence Stone and Jean Fawtier Stone, The Open Elite ? : England 1540-1880 (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1984), pp.

41. Ibid., p. 71-2.

42. Deane and Cole, British Economic Growth..., op. cit., p.90.

43. Roderick Floud and Donald McCloskey, ed. The Economic History of Britain since 1700 2 Vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 46.

44. Ibid., p. 47.  
Floud and McCloskey were referring to A. H. John 's article entitled: 'War and the English Economy, 1700-1763', Economic History Review, 1955.

45. Deane and Cole, British Economic Growth..., op. cit.,  
22 21 27

See also H.J. Habakkuk, 'Essays in Bibliography and Criticism: The Eighteenth Century', Economic History Review, second series, Vol. VIII (1956), pp. 437-8.

Another reference : Porter, op.cit., pp. 71-2.

46. W.A. Speck, Stability and Strife: England 1714-1760, op.cit., p. 197.

47. Dickson, op.cit., p 153.

48. Speck, Stability and Strife....., op.cit., p.156.

Another reference : Andrew W. Moore, Norfolk and the Grand Tour. Eighteenth century travellers abroad and their souvenirs, (Norfolk: Norfolk Museum service, 1985) p. 158.

49. Danby Pickering, Statutes at Large, from the 5th year of George First to the Ninth year of George First, Vols, (Cambridge, 1765), XIV, (8 Geo I, c.20) p. 451. See also Vol. XV, (11 Geo.I c.7), pp. 182-189.

50. Deane and Cole, British Economic Growth...op.cit., pp.90,94-95.

51. Part I, Chapter two, pp. 78-79 n.21.

52. Floud and McCloskey, op.cit., p. 90. The dips in trade occurred over the war periods as mentioned but also included the period 1775-83 during the American War of Independence and to the end of the century.

53. Ibid. See also Roderick Floud and Donald McCloskey, (ed), The Economic History of Britain since 1700, Vol I 1700-1860, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 90.

54. Iain Pears, 'The Growth of Interest in Painting in England : 1680-1768', Ph.d Thesis, University of Oxford, 1984, p. 171; see also pp. 168-69.

In this case Pears was referring to the general state of the economy, however in earlier discussion he noted that inflation for paintings was high during the period, but suggested that the evidence was too scant to be conclusive.

55. Louise Lippincott, Selling Art in Georgian London: The Rise of Arthur Pond(New Haven and London : Yale University Press, 1983) pp. 115-116.

56. Porter, English Society in the Eighteenth Centuryop.cit., p. 352.

57. The Letters of Horace Walpole Fourth Earl of Orford chronologically arranged and edited by Mrs Paget Toynbee, 19 vols., (Oxford, 1903-1925) Vol. 6, p. 379 (A letter from Walpole to Mann May 6, 1770.

58. Ibid., Vol. 10, p. 377, (A letter to Mann Feb. 11, 1779)

59. Jo Lynn Edwards, "Alexandre Joseph Paillet 1743-1814: The Study of a Parisian Art Dealer", Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, University

60. London National Gallery Library, 'A Catalogue of Pictures of the XVIII Century 1745 -1802', A Catalogue of that truly superb and well-known Collection of Pictures of the Roman, Venetian, Spanish, French, Flemish, Dutch and English Schools: The entire and genuine property of Monsieur Desenfans....The Whole will be sold on Saturday, April 8, 1786 by Private Contract... p. 333.

61. Pears op. cit., pp. 170, 172

62. Homer, The History of Interest Rates... op. cit., pp. 155-165.

63. Ibid.

64. John Pye, Patronage of British Art: An Historical Sketch, (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, 1845) p. 31.

65. Ibid., p. 243.

66. Francis Russell, 'The Pictures of John, Fourth Duke of Bedford', Apollo, Vol.CXXVII, No. 316 (June 1988) p. 404.

67. London, National Gallery Library, 'A Catalogue of Pictures of the XVIII Century 1745 -1802', Desenfans Catalogue, op.cit., p.335.

68. Horace Walpole, ed. A Catalogue and Description of King Charles First's Capital Collection of Pictures, Limnings, Statues, Bronzes, Medals and other Curiosities. Now first Published from an Original Manuscript in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, The whole transcribed and prepared for the press and a great part of it printed by the late ingenious Mr. Vertue and now finished from his papers. (London: W. Bathoe, 1757) iv.

69. London, Public Records Office, Port Books E190. 136/7 - gives the following brief description of paintings imported into London (daily record). " #4. dated 16th April 1686, Sebastian van der Hoven in Capt. Mason, Rotterdam, a parcel of pictures at £1.0."; " # 11 dated 2nd June 1686, in Capt. Loves at Rotterdam, 14 old pictures at £7.00"; " # 5. 21st June, 1686. Herm. Verelst in Richard Anderson at Rotterdam several unfinished pictures at £1.00".

70. Giles Barber, 'Book Imports and Exports in the Eighteenth Century', Sale and Distribution of Books from 1700, Robin Mayers and Michael Harris (eds) (Oxford: Oxford Polytechnic Press, 1982, 1984), p. 77.

71. London, Public Records Office, Kew, Statistical Office 216.3.5. In 1671 a permanent board for keeping and preparing records and accounts of trade was established. In 1696 an inspector general of imports and exports was appointed to keep account of goods shipped in and out of British ports and in 1703, to examine the increase in foreign shipping. P.R.O. Customs 2 and 3. Inspector General's Accounts 1696-1760. Cust. 3 Vols. 6-60.

72. George Vertue, 'Note Books'III, Walpole SocietyXXII:1,4.9. Vertue noted that: "This Gentleman <Mr. Broderick> it was that brought a Bill into the House of Commons to pass an Act for importing Picture into England paying according to size. from 20 shillings each picture

great rogerie and false swearing and prevented the best or very good pictures to come in the Custom amounting so high and instead of that Copies were brought in sworn and sold for originals and the curious deciev'd [sic.] and since this Act already more good pictures are brought in and few Copies since this twelve month.

See also Statutes in appendix of chapter two.

73. Horace Walpole, Anecdotes of Painting in England 5 Vols. (Richmond: Strawberry Hill Press, 1765) III: 48-50.

74. Albert Blankert 'General Introduction, Gods, Saints and Heroes....., Ibid. p.23.

75. H.V.S. Ogden and Margaret S. Ogden, English Taste in Landscape in the Seventeenth Century, (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1955. pp. 89-91.

76. R. H. Fuchs, Dutch Painting(london : Thames and Hudson Ltd.,1978) p. 63.

77. Lawrence Stone and Jeanne F. Stone, The Open Elite, op.cit., p. 405. Concerning the proliferation of suburban villas, see John Rocque's (1746). Exact Survey of the City of London, Westminster, ye Borough of Southwark and the Country near 10 miles round London.

78. J.A. Chartres, 'Food Consumption and Internal Trade', The Making of a Metropolis: London 1500-1700, A.L. Beier and Roger Finlay (eds) (Harlow: Essex, 1986), p. 174.

79. Neil McKendrick, 'Commercialization and the Economy' Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and J.H. Plumb, The Birth of a Consumer Society, op.cit., p. 15.

By 'Veblen effect' the latter authors meant "the increased propensity to consume" which has a "snowballing" effect, in which emulative spending and the indulgence in fashionable consumption stimulates production so that goods can be offered at lower unit cost, having greater reach in the population and thus enabling the vertical diffusion of consumer goods (paintings and other items) to occur.

80. Ibid.

81. Ibid. McKendrick also referred to Harold Parker, The Origins of Modern English Society: 11780-1880, (1969).

82. Vertue, 'Note Books' 1, The Walpole Society. XVIII:107

83. John Dennis, An Essay upon Publick Spirit... (1711) p. v. Henry William Spiegel, The Growth of Economic thought, op.cit., p. 227.

84. R. H. Fuchs, Dutch Painting(london : Thames and Hudson Ltd.,1978) p. 62, 63.

85. Ibid., p. 38.

86. Addison make requent reference to landscape painting and some of these include the following: The Spectator (London) " 62



Fri. May 11, 1711, p. 238.

The Spectator (London), Vol. 6, No. 414 Wed. June 25, 1712, p. 69- 70.

The Tatler (London) No. 182, Tue. June 6 to Thurs June 8, 1710, p. 1.

The Tatler (London), No. 120, Feb. 3, 1709, p.1.

87. Neil McKendrick, 'Commercialization and the Economy', The Birth of a Consumer Society, *op.cit.*, pp. 15-16, 19.

88. 'Furniture at St. Giles's, Dorset', Country Life, ( April-June 1935), pp. 380-381.

89. Ibid.

90. Ben Howe, 'A Shell Grotto Restored', Country Life, Vol. CXXV, (June 4, 1959), p. 1252.

91. George Vertue, 'Notebooks' 3, Walpole Society, XXII, (Oxford, 1934), pp. 103-104.

92. Ibid.

93. Ibid., p. 108.

94. Ibid.

95. George Vertue, 'Notebooks' 4, Walpole Society, XXIV, (Oxford, 1936), p. 19. Vertue's visit to Wilton in 1731.

96. Vertue, 'Notebooks' 3, *op.cit.*, p. 117 (1743).

97. Ibid.

98. Vertue, 'Notebooks' 5, Walpole Society, XXVI, (Oxford, 1938), p. 120 (Sir Andrew Fountain Vertue, 'Notebooks' 4, *op.cit.*, pp. 19, 47.

See also list in the appendices of this chapter, Appendix No. 5.

#### NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

1. Great Britain, Statutes of the Realm, 6 & 7 William and Mary, ch. 7 (1694), op. cit., (see Chapter II, Appendix H). Entitled: "An Act for granting his Majestie several Additional Duties upon Coffee, Tea, Chocolate and Spices toward ... the Reduction of Ireland". This statute first permitted paintings, to be imported for public sale. See also 3 & 4 Anne C. 4 for continuing the duty on paintings at 20% ad valorem. See also Henry V.A. and Margaret S. Ogden, English Taste in Landscape in the Seventeenth Century (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1955), pp. 89-91.
2. The sales catalogues collected in Fritz Lugt's Repetoires de Ventes publiques .... op. cit., indicates that the beginning of auction sales seems to have coincided with the accession of William and Mary. The boom period lasted for on 2-3 years, 1689-1691 and began to decline.
3. John Pye, Patronage of British Art: An Historical Sketch, (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, 1845 ), pp.27, 42-43,54.
4. Louise Lippicott, Selling Art in Georgian London : The Rise of Arthur Pond(New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983), pp. 72, 82, 116,162.
5. Great Britain, Statutes of the Realm, ( London: Record Commission, 1831) Vol. IV. 6 & 7 William and Mary, ch. 7 (1694), op. cit. p.584  
See Appendix H, Chapter two.
6. Ellis Waterhouse, The Dictionary of British Eighteenth Century Painters (Suffolk: Baron Publishing, 1981), pp. 382-384,386,378,377,381,385, 389.
7. John Richard Green,A Short History of the English People, 2 (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1915), 2: 604, 651.
8. D.P. Snoep, "Classicism and history painting in the late seventeenth century", in Gods, Saints and Heroes: Dutch Painting in the Age of Rembrandt (Washington D.C., The National Gallery of Art, 1980), p. 238.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. John Michael Montias, Artists and Artisans in Delft (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), p. 329.
12. Ogden and Ogden, op. cit., pp. 82-83.

13. Addison in the eighteenth century, see The Tatler (London), no. 209, from Tues Aug. 8 to Thurs Aug. 10, 1710.
14. Ibid.
15. Jonathan Richardson, An Essay on the Theory of Painting (London: 1715), pp. 40-42.
16. Ibid.
17. The sales catalogues indicate a small but growing interest in the importation of religious and mythological histories. B.M.L. Sales Catalogue No.: 1402.g.1 #141, 22-23 Jan. 1692/3, "an auction of paintings most of them ... from the collections of Prince Ludovico and General Doushfield, lately brought over ... at the Vendu next to Bedford Gate in Charles St., Covent Garden".
18. William Aglionby, Painting Illustrated in Three Dialogues, containing some Choice Observations on Art, Together with the lives of the most eminent painters, from Cimabue to the time of Raphael and Michel Angelo (London, 1685, 1717), pp.99,104
19. Robert Weider, Pierre Motteux, et les Debuts du Journalism en Angleterre au XVII<sup>e</sup> - siecle: Le Gentleman's Journal 1692-1694, (Paris: Didier, 1944 ), p.41-42.
20. Aglionby, Painting Illustrated in Three Dialogues..., op. cit., p.104.
21. Weider, Pierre Motteux et les Debuts du Journalism..., op.cit., pp. 41-42.
22. Gerard de Lairese, The Art of Painting in all its Branches, Methodically demonstrated by Discourses and Plates, and exemplified by remarks on paintings of the best masters: and their Perfections and Oversights laid Open, translated by John Frederick Fretsche, painter (London, 1738), p. 132.
23. Ogden, op.cit., p. 114.
24. Ibid.
25. Ellis Waterhouse, Painting in Britain 1530 to 1790 (Harmonsworth, Middlesex, Penguin Books Ltd., 1978), pp. 115, 125-126.  
Concerning Italian artists working in England, Waterhouse noted: "Details of his [Verrio's] works for Windsor and (after 1686) for Whitehall can be extracted from the Collections of Treasury Books. The most illuminating is a warrant dated 16 November 1678 that there can be no molestation to 'several foreigners, being painters and other artists employed in paintings and adorning Windsor Castle', for being Popish recusants". The artists named by the Treasury Papers were "'Antony Verrio, and Frances D'Angely his wife, and John Baptiste and Francis their sons: Michael Tourarde, Jacob Coquet, - Lanscroon, Bertrand du Mailhey, painters employed by Verrio: Rene du Four his apprentice ... etc'; later is added 'Antonio Montingo' a painter of flowers employed by Signor Verrio at Windsor Castle".

26. Bob Haak, The Golden Age : Dutch painters of the Seventeenth century (London: Thames and Hudson, 1984), pp. 190-93
27. British Museum Library, Sales Catalogues, 1402.g.1. Sale # 32, 16-17 Dec. 1689 listed "a winterpiece" after Bassano and another winter landscape on #39, 3 April 1689.
28. Ogden, op. cit., p. 114.
29. Ellis Waterhouse, Painting in Britain 1530 to 1790 (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1953), pp. 128. Waterhouse noted that Henry Cooke (d.1700) was a minor history painter.
30. Ogden, Landscape painting in England., p. 114.
31. Ibid., pp. 127-128.
32. Ibid., pp. 110-112.
33. Michael Bryan A Biographical and Critical Dictionary of Painters and Engravers...., 4 Vols (London: Carpenter and son, 1816), Vol. 4, p. 137.
34. "An Inventory of the late Right Honourable Jocelin, Earl of Northumberland's Personal Estate, as it was at the time of his Decease the 21/31 of May 1670. The inventory included Approvals at Northumberland House Appraised by Mr. Symon Stone on the 30th June 1671; Pictures Appraised at Petworth House by Mr. Symon Stone dated 30th July 1671; several Pictures at Syon in the use of the Rt. Hon. the Elder Countess Dowager of Northumberland, taken and appraised by Symon Stone on 10 July 1671. Pictures appraised at Petworth by Symon Stone the 30th July 1671.  
Sale #80 "A Rare Prospective done by Stenwick, the figures by Pullenburke" - £100.0.0  
" #90 "A Bacchanalia when there is a Woman Ryding upon Two Satyr's Shoulder, done by Pullenborke" - £20.0.0.
35. Frank Simpson, "Dutch Paintings in England before 1760", Burlington Magazine, vol. 95, no. 599. (February 1953), p. 41  
Simpson's list of paintings by Poelenburgh included the following:  

|      |           |         |                             |          |
|------|-----------|---------|-----------------------------|----------|
|      | 1722      | 24 Feb. | Duke of Portland            |          |
| Sale |           |         | #53 A History Piece         | £34.13.0 |
|      | 1722      | 24 Feb. | Duke of Portland            |          |
| "    |           |         | #127 Landscape with Figures | 36. 0.0  |
|      | 1722      | 24 Feb. | Duke of Portland            |          |
| "    |           |         | #134 Landscape with Figures | 52. 0.0  |
|      | 1742 + 11 |         | Samuel Paris                |          |
| Sale |           |         | #44 The Feast of the Gods   | 21. 5.0  |

A painting by Steenwyck selected randomly as part of my study was also sold at the Duke of Portland's sale:  
1722 24 Feb., Church of Antwerp, bought by Lord Bridge-water for £33.12.0
36. Thomas Martyn, The English Connoisseur :... (London, 1766); Horace Walpole, Anecdotes of Painting in England, (London, 1879), I , pp.175-176 ; John Savage, The Art of Painting and the

Lives of the Painters....to which is added an Essay towards the English School (London: J. Nutt, 1706), pp.290-307.

37. Frederick Harms, Les Tables Historiques et Chronologiques des plus fameux Peintres Ancien et Modernes (Brunswick, 1742). A list of the sources are quoted on the first page of the book.

38. B.M.L. Sales Catalogues, op. cit., Nicholaas Claas Berchem (or Bergham) (b. Haarlem 1620- d. Amsterdam 1683):

|          |               |                         |
|----------|---------------|-------------------------|
| Sale #14 | 31 May 1689   | Landscape               |
| " #28    | 1 Nov. 1689   | Landscape               |
| " #64    | 24 Sept. 1690 | two landscape paintings |
| " #103   | 15 June 1691  | two landscapes          |

39. MS Inventories included a Cartwright Collection (now at Dulwich College), dated 1686/7; Ham House, dated 1679; Earl of Melfort's collection (Treasury Books; dated 1689-92); Syon House, dated 1671; Sir Richard Temple's inventory dated 1685.

40. "Weenix", father and son. Both painted landscapes, some with ruins and some with cattle. Jan Baptist Senior (b. Amsterdam 1621 - d. Utrecht 1660) and Jan Baptist Junior (b. Amsterdam 1640 - d. Amsterdam 1719).

There were only two paintings listed in the sale of #170, 4 May 1699, one "A ruin with travellers" and the other "a landscape with cattle", but it is not known if they were by Weenix Junior or Senior.

41. Dirk van Dalens, The Elder (1659-1688), or The Younger (1688-1753)

Sale No. 103 15th. June, 1691 "A landscape with Cattle"

42. B.M.L. Sales Catalogues, op. cit. An unidentified artist Bruynix painted landscapes with cattle :

Sale #150(a) 23 March 1693 "A landscape with cattle"

43. Jan Griffier (the Elder) (b. Amsterdam 1645 - d. London 1718). There were twelve paintings by Griffier in sales for the period 1689-1693. These included landscapes with geese (#32, 16-17 Dec. 1689); a frostpiece and landscapes with dogs and a hare. Sale #36, 20-22 Feb. 1690, listed a painting of "Constantinople"; and a landscape with dogs and fowl. Landscapes with ruins dominated the sales for 24 Sept. 1690, 15 June 1691, 23 March 1693.

44. Sir Richard Temple's Inventory, dated 1685.

45. B.M.L. Sale Catalogues, op. cit. Catalogue (#39) dated 3 April 1690 listed 14 paintings by van Diest. These included seascapes, landscapes, a moonshine, a City of Troy on Fire after van Diest, sale catalogue #53, 30 June 1690 listed two more landscapes; and two more on #64, 24 Sept. 1690; two winter pieces, on 15 June 1691; and three more landscapes for sale on 23 March 1693. A total of 23 paintings for the period 1690-1693.

46. Paintings by Abraham Hondius (1638-1695) were frequently collected during the period. Sales dated 12 July 1689 to 13 Oct. 1691 mention as many as 32 paintings of various subjects but most of these were stag or boar hunts, bear baitings, and some allegories such as Bacchanalia set in landscapes.

47. Adriaen Hennin's landscapes are listed in sales dated 24 Sept. 1690, 13-16 Oct. 1691 and 23 March 1692/3. The latter included a history painting of "Arnoldo and Armedia", the former included "Two Landscapes of Pomona".

48. Sale # 64 on 24 Sept. 1690 listed two landscape paintings by Wijck, one with figures by Knyff and the other with figures by Lauroon.

49. These included paintings in the following sales catalogues:

Sale #36 20/22 Feb. 1690 (110 landscapes by Wijck)  
Bryan's Dictionary, vol.II, p. 120. The sales catalogues for the period 3 April 1690 to 23 March 1693 (including sales on 24 Sept. 1690, 15 June 1691, 13-16 Oct. 1691), a total of eleven paintings. Sales catalogue #64, 24 Sept. 1690, indicates that Wijck also collaborated with Leonard Knyff and Marcellus Lauroon. The latter artists painted the figures in Wijck's landscapes.

50. Walpole, Anecdotes of Painting...op. cit., I:251

51. Sale #103 15 June 1691, "an old Wyck to be put up at £5.0.0."

" #150(a) 23 March 1693, "a Hunt" (after Wijck).

52. Bryan Dictionary..., op. cit., vol.V, p.252.

53. Jan van der Vaart (b. Haarlem 1647 - d. London 1721), For example, sale #18, 28 June 1689, "A landscape after van der Vaart".

54. Lot #201, "A moonlight piece to be put in at £6.0.0".  
Sale #103, 15 June 1691.

55. B.M.L. Sales Catalogues, op.cit., Leonard Knyff (b. Haarlem 1650-d. London 1721):

Sale #64 24 Sept. 1690 a landscape with cattle

Sale #103 15 June 1691 Three paintings of Landscapes with cattle.

56. Ellis Waterhouse, Painting in England 1530 - 1790 (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1953), pp 119-21.

57. Variety of subject matter was the chief characteristic of Leonard Knyff's painting. For example, a sale on 28 August 1689 mentioned a single landscape; more were listed in the sale on 1 November 1689, while another sale on 3 April 1690 listed "a landscape", "a prospect of Hampton Court", and "a Temple of Diana". A sale on 24 September 1690 contained a painting of "Windsor Castle"; and another on 15 June 1691 was described as "a landscape with cattle".

58. B.M.L. Sales Catalogues, op. cit., 1402.g.1. Cornelis Pietersz de Mooy (b. Rotterdam 1656 - d. Antwerp, 1701):

Sale #103 15 June 1691 "Four paintings of landscapes with cattle.

59. Jan Loten. MS Inventory: Sir Richard Temple, taken in London, 8 August 1685. According to the librarian at Home Park,

Stowe, Buckinghamshire, this inventory was probably "taken just about the time that Sir Richard Temple was completing the furnishing of his house at Stowe. So there had probably been a good deal of to-ing and fro-ing with pictures etc. between Stowe and the house in London. He moved from Covent Garden to Bow Street at about this time too".

Paintings by Loten in Sir Richard Temple's Inventory were described simply as "landskips" some with frames and others without.

60. The sales listed two landscapes by Loten on 15 June 1691 and a Fire of London dated 13-16 Oct. 1691.

61. Gerard Edema (Friesland 1652 - Richmond 1700): Sales Catalogues # 39 3rd April 1690; # 64 24th. Sept 1690; #103 15 June 1691; #109 13-16 Oct. 1691; #150a 23 March 1693, list a total of eleven landscape paintings by Edema.

62. Four paintings for Adam Coloni (Colonia b. Rotterdam 1634 - d. London 1685) are listed in sales catalogues in the 1690's.

63. Bob Haak, Dutch Painting of the Seventeenth Century op. cit., pp.386-387.

64. Ogden, English Taste in Landscape ..., (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1955), pp. 109-112.

65. British Museum Library: Sales Catalogues 1402.g.1, Sir Anthony Van Dyck (Antwerp 1599 - London 1641):

|      |         |                  |  |
|------|---------|------------------|--|
| Sale | #14     | 31 May 1689      | 5 portraits  |
| "    | #18     | 28 June 1689     | portrait after Van Dyck  |
|      |         |                  | "A black" after Van Dyck   |
| "    | #21     | 12 Aug 1689      | 5 portraits, 2 of these after Van Dyck - "A King Charles I on horseback"   |
|      |         |                  | "Sir Kenelm Digby"   |
| "    | #24     | 2 Aug. 1689      | 2 portraits  |
|      |         |                  | "A black" after Van Dyck   |
| "    | #28     | 1 Nov 1689       | 4 portraits - " King Charles I and his Queen, Lord Strafford, Mrs. Murey"  |
| "    | #32     | 16-17 Dec. 1689  | 6 portraits - 5 after Van Dyck: "Lady Sands", "Lady Cornelia", "Charles I & II", " Charles V"                    |
| "    | #39     | 3 April 1690     | 3 portraits - "Head of Dobson" the painter, " King James II", "Mary Magdalene"                                   |
| "    | #64     | 24 Sept. 1690    | 2 portraits  |
| "    | #109    | 13-16 Oct. 1691  | 4 portraits, one after Van Dyck  |
| "    | #121    | 23 Nov. 1691     | 5 portraits: "Infanta of Spain", "Lady Venetia Stanley, Countess of Portland", "Lord Pembroke", "Lady Carnarvon" |
| "    | #141    | 22-23 Jan. 1692  | 4 "self-portraits"   |
| "    | #150(a) | 22-23 March 1693 | portrait, "Princess Henrietta."  |

66. Sir Peter Paul Rubens (b. Siegen 1577 - Antwerp 1540\_:

|      |     |                 |                             |
|------|-----|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| Sale | #14 | 31 May 1689     | a portrait                  |
|      |     |                 | prints of 12 Roman emperors |
| "    | #21 | 12 July 1689    | a portrait                  |
| "    | #32 | 16-17 Dec. 1689 | a Roman general             |

|   |         |                   |  |
|---|---------|-------------------|--|
|   |         |                   | a portrait   |
| " | #36     | 20-22 Feb. 1690   | a head   |
| " | #39     | 3 April 1690      | a head   |
| " | #121    | 23 Nov. 1691      | Ruben's wife (an original painting<br>sold at Cardinal Barberini and Sir J. Palmer's sale) |
|   |         |                   | The Duke of Buckingham   |
| " | #141    | 22-23 Jan. 1692   | a head   |
| " | #150(a) | 23-23 Mar. 1692/3 | a head.  |

67. "Old Remi" (Remi van Leenput) (b. Antwerp, act. mid 17th c. in England). Sale lot #109, 13-16 Oct 1691 lists "A gentleman and his Lady" and a portrait of Lord Strafford, probably a copy of a Van Dyck of the same subject listed above (note 59).

68. See also William Cartwright Inventory, Dulwich College Library, MSS. no. 24: lot #5, "Queen Mary's picture in orange coloured bodice, after Van Dyck copies by "Oul Reme" [sic] in a gilt frame, a closet piece. Valued at £10.0.0 in 1687.

69. Van der Elst or van der Aelst could also be a misspelling of Verelst (Simon Verelst) (b. Antwerp 1637 or 1640 - d. 1710), who came to England during Charles II's reign and was extensively employed. The sales for 13-16 Oct. 1691 indicate that he painted portraits and genre. A portrait of King William is listed in the latter sale and "A conversation piece", and in a sale on 22-23 Jan 1691 "A good fellow".

70. B.M.L. Sales Catalogues. There was a total of 13 portraits for Cornelis Jonson recorded in the following sales catalogues: #21, 12 July 1689; #39, 3 April 1690; #64, 24 Sept. 1690; #103, 15 June 1691; #109, 13-16 Oct. 1691; 150(a), 23 March 1693.

71. B.M.L. Sales Catalogues, op. cit..  
A sale on 31 May 1689 recorded two drawings of historical subjects by Lucas van Leyden (b. Leyden 1494 - d. 1533). Sales:  
Sale #24 2 Aug. 1689 "A Portrait"  
#32 16-17 Dec. 1689 "A Dutch woman".

These examples show that collectors were familiar with Van Leyden's work through drawings and sometimes through engravings which also appeared at the earliest auction sales of paintings.

72. B.M.L. Sales Catalogues, *ibid*:  
Sale #64 24 Sept. 1690. "An Old Man's Head by Jan van Scorel (b. Scorel near Alkmaar 1495 - d. Utrecht 1562).

73. B.M.L. Sales Catalogues, *ibid*. Only one portrait painting by Michel Mireveld (b. Delft 1567 - d. Delft 1641) was listed in the sale (#18, 28 June 1689), indicating that works by this master were rare in England. The reason is that Charles I invited Mireveld to England to be court painter, but he declined the invitation.

74. There were three portrait paintings by Paul van Somer (b. Antwerp c. 1571 - d. London 1621) listed in sales. These were:  
Sale Lot #64 24 Sept. 1690 The Countess of Devonshire  
King James I and family  
" #150(a) 23 March 1693 King William I and Queen Mary  
(daughter of Charles I)



75. Hendrick Goltzius's prints and drawings as well as paintings listed for sales 31 May 1689 and again on 28 June 1689. He painted portraits and histories.

|      |     |                 |                                 |
|------|-----|-----------------|---------------------------------|
| Sale | #36 | 20-22 Feb. 1690 | Queen Jane, mother of Edward VI |
| "    | #39 | 3 April 1690    | "A head of St. John".           |

76. Cornelis van Haarlem (Cornelisz Cornelis) (b. Haarlem 1562 - d. Haarlem 1637) was a painter of histories and portraits. Sales on 28 June 1689 and again on 24 Sept. 1690 list a number of histories. A sale on 22-23 Jan. 1691 lists portraits entitled "Two weeping heads".

77. Importation from abroad for public sale was prohibited prior to 1695. See also Chapter III, *passim*.

78. Four paintings by Egbert van Heemskerk (b. Haarlem 1610 - d. Haarlem 1680) appeared in sales catalogues, Sale #32, 16-17 Dec. 1689 and Sale #39, 3 April 1690.

79. B.M.L. Sales Catalogues:  
Paintings by Franz Hals (b. Antwerp 1580 - d. Haarlem 1666) appeared in sales catalogues:

|      |      |              |                  |
|------|------|--------------|------------------|
| Sale | #39  | 3 April 1690 | "A head"         |
|      |      |              | "A fortune"      |
| "    | #240 |              | "A boy laughing" |
|      |      |              | "A man's head".  |

80. B.M.L. Sales Catalogues :  
Sale #64 24 Sept. 1690 "a portrait" by Ferdinand Bol  
(b. Dordrecht 1611 - d. Amsterdam 1681).

81. B.M.L. Sales Catalogues:  
Sale #141 22-23 Jan. 1694 "An old man reading a letter"  
by "du Koning", probably Philips de Koninck (b. Amsterdam 1619 - d. Amsterdam 1688).

82. B.M.L. Sales Catalogues:  
Paintings by Sir Peter Lely (b. Westphalia 1618 - d. London 1680). Studied painting in Holland and therefore regarded as a Dutch artist.

|      |        |                 |   |
|------|--------|-----------------|---|
| Sale | #21    | 12 July 1689    | "King James II"                               |
|      |        |                 | "Old Simon" (after Lely)                      |
|      |        |                 | "Lord Bedford" (after Lely)                   |
|      |        |                 | A copy of Greenhill's wife<br>(after Lely)    |
|      |        |                 | "Prince Robert"                               |
|      |        |                 | "A portrait"                                  |
| Sale | #24    | 2 Aug. 1689     | King Charles II and his Queen<br>(after Lely) |
|      |        |                 | King James II and Queen Mary                  |
|      | #32    | 16-17 Dec. 1689 | Duchess of Cleveland (after Lely)             |
|      | #39    | 3 April 1690    | A portrait                                    |
|      | #64    | 24 Sept. 1690   | A nobleman                                    |
|      |        |                 | King Charles II (after Lely)                  |
|      | #121   | 23 Nov. 1691    | A portrait                                    |
|      | 150(a) | 23 Mar. 1693    | Lady Hollis (after Lely)                      |
|      |        |                 | Lord Brunkert                                 |

83. B.M.L. Sales Catalogues, *ibid.*  
Jan Lievens (b. Leyden 1607 - d. Antwerp 1672):  
Sale #18 28 June 1689 Portrait "a woman's head"  
"An Old woman's Head".
84. B.M.L. Sales Catalogues:  
Rembrandt van Rijn (b. Leyden 1606 - d. Amsterdam 1669)  
Sale #14 31 May 1689 A drawing (subject unidentified)  
A print of a Bacchanal.
85. B.M.L. Sales Catalogues:  
Sale #32 16-17 Dec. 1689 A portrait  
#39 3 April 1690 A girl's head  
A portrait  
A boy's head  
Sale #64 24 Sept. 1690 2 portraits - one an old man's head  
#103 15 June 1691 A woman  
#109 13-16 Oct. 1691 "Doctor Paracelsius" (after  
Rembrandt)  
#121 23 Nov. 1691 Self portrait  
#141 22-23 Jan. 1692 An old man's head  
150(a) 23 March 1692 A man's head
86. B.M.L. Sales Catalogues, Sale # 21, 12 July 1689 (see #68  
above).
87. B.M.L. Sales Catalogues. "scottus", probably Pieter  
Schotanus (working in Leeuwarden in the 17th century).  
Sale #32 16-17 Dec. 1690 "Scottus" after Titian
88. B.M.L. Sales Catalogues: Godfried Schalcken (b. Dordrecht  
1643 - d. The Hague 1706):  
Sale #170 4 May 1699, "An old man working by candlelight, a  
painting after Schalcken".
89. B.M.L. Sales Catalogues. William Wissing (b. Amsterdam  
1655-56 - d. Burghley 1687):  
Sale #18 28 June 1689 King William  
#24 2 Aug. 1689 King William  
#36 20-22 Feb. 1690 King William (small painting)  
and Queen  
#39 3 April 1690 William and Mary (after Wissing)  
#39 3 April 1690 King Charles II (after Wissing)  
#64 24 Sept. 1690 King William (after Wissing)  
150(a) 23 March 1693 King William and Queen Mary  
(after Wissing).
90. Lot #64, 24 Sept. 1690 listed an unidentified sitter by  
"van Huysum".
91. B.M.L. Sales Catalogues: Egbert van Heemskerck, the  
Younger (b. Haarlem 1645 - d. London 1704):  
Sale #39 3 April 1690 "A friar's head"  
" #64 24 Sept. 1690 "A self portrait"  
three-quarter portrait  
" #103 15 June 1690 A portrait  
" #109 13-16 Oct. 1691 A portrait  
" #150(a) 23 Mar. 1693 A portrait.

92. National Library of Scotland MS: 14552, f. 226 undated inventory of pictures belonging to Marquis of Tweeddale , Edinburgh.

German Portraiture

93. Bruyn Vilbert/Vilbart or Vuelbart ( ? Cologne 1445/54 )  
Sale #141 22-23 Jan. 1692 A portrait  
#103 15 June 1691 "A Boys head crying"  
# " " " " "A Horses Head" (after Van Dyck)

94. B.M.L. Sales Catalogues, op. cit....:  
Albert Durer (b. Nuremburg 1481 - d. 1528):  
Sale #36 2-22 Feb, 1690 An old head.

95. B.M.L. Sales Catalogues, op. cit....:  
Hans Holbein (b. Augsburg 1497/8 - d. London 1543):  
Sale #14 31 May 1689 2 drawings (subj. unidentified)  
1 drawing - a portrait  
A painting - a portrait  
#24 2 Aug. 1689 A print  
A painting - "Sir Thomas Bradbury"  
#121 23 Nov. 1691 A painting - ½ length of a woman  
in the manner of Holbein  
# (a) 23 Mar. 1693 A portrait (supposed by Holbein).

96. Gerard Soest (b. Westphalia early 17thc. - d. London 1681):  
Sale #64 Sept. 1689 3 portraits  
#170 4 May 1699 "Admiral Evertson & his Lady".

97. B.M.L. Sales Catalogues: "Merius" or Marius or "Merins",  
probably Matthaus Merian (b. Basle 1621 - d. Frankfurt 1687):  
Sale #141 22-23 Jan. 1692 A switzer  
A self portrait  
#170 4 May 1699 A gentleman playing on a violin.

98. B.M.L. Sales Catalogues: Friedrich Kerseboom (b. Sulingen 1632 - d. London 1690):  
Sale #39 3 April 1690 "A portrait"  
#64 24 Sept. 1690 "Sir William Portman & his Lady".

99. Michael Bryan, A Biographical and Critical Dictionary...  
op. cit., III: 129.

100. See chapter two , p. 64 , concerning copies after Lely' paintings .

101. B.M.L. Sales Catalogues, op. cit....: Sir Godfried Kneller (b. Lubeck 1646 - d. London 1723), worked in Amsterdam, moved to London in 1674.  
Sale #18 28 June 1689 "A portrait" (after Kneller)  
" " " " "The Princess of Denmark" (after Kneller)  
" #36 20-22 Feb. 1690 "King James II"  
#103 15 June 1691 "King Charles II" (after Kneller)  
"Duke of Monmouth" (after Kneller)  
"King James II" (after Kneller)  
#109 13-16 Oct. 1691 "King Charles II" (after Kneller)

"King James II (after Kneller)"  
"King James II (after Kneller)."

Italian Portrait Painters

102. Giorgione da Castelfranco (b. Castelfranco ? working in Venice 1477/8 - d. 1510):

Sale #36 20-22 Feb. 1690 "A piper's head" (after Giorgione)  
"Lucretia" ( a fine copy)

103. Giovanni Dossi (called Dosso Dossi and Dossi de Ferrara) (working in Ferrara 1479 - d. 1542):

Sale #64 24 Sept. 1690 portrait of a woman sleeping

104. Paintings by "Procaccini" - probably the brothers Ercole Procaccini (1515 - 1595) or Guilio Procaccini (b. Bologna 1548 - d. Milan 1625).

Sale #141 22-23 Jan. 1692 "A portrait"  
"A portrait".

#121 23 Nov. 1691 listed a Madonna by Procachina de Milano but since the two brothers above and a third, Camillo Procaccini (b. Bologna 1551/6 - d. Milan 1629), it is difficult to identify which family member painted the above portraits.

105. "Carracci", unidentified member of the brothers Carracci, probably Ludovico or Annibale:

Sale #21 12 July 1689 "a portrait"

Annibale Carracci (b. Bologna 1560 - d. Rome 1609):

Sale #14 31 May 1689 A print, "A portrait"  
seven historical and biblical subjects (see below).

106. B.M.L. Sales Catalogues, Ibid.:Guisepppe Cesari (called Arpino D'Cavaliere) (b. Rome 1568-1640):

Sale #121 23 Nov. 1691 "A Portrait of Pope Leo & the King  
of the Huns.

107. B.M.L. Sales Catalogues, Ibid.: Guido Reni (b. Bologna 1575 - d. Bologna 1642):

Sale #14 31 May 1689 A print - "A portrait" and 4  
histories in print (see below)  
#39 3 April 1690 A painting "a portrait"  
#103 15 June 1691 "A boy playing on bagpipes"  
(after G. Reni).

four histories and religious figures, some after Guido Reni.

108. Raphael d'Urbino (b. 1483 - d. Rome 1520):

Sale #14 31 May 1689 2 drawings - portraits  
3 prints of religious figures

109. Sebastiano del Piombo (b. Venice 1485 - d. Rome 1547):

Sale #141 22-23 Jan. 1692 A portrait.

110. Titian (1488/9 - d. Venice 1576)

Sale #18 28 June 1689 A print entitled "Heads"  
#24 2 Aug. 1689 A print entitled "A head"  
#36 20-22 Feb. 1690 A painting - a self-portrait  
#64 24 Sept. 1690 A painting - a head  
#141 22-23 Jan. 1692/3 A painting - a head after Titian.

111. Jacopo Tintoretto (b. Venice 1518 - d. Venice 1594):  
Sale #14 31 May 1689 A print - a head

#121 23 Nov. 1691 A full-length portrait of a woman  
A full-length portrait of a man  
Two paintings of heads  
A ¾-length portrait  
"A portrait of the Duke of Venice."

112. Most of the Italian paintings in the sample come from two major Italian collectors : Prince Lucovico (together with General Doushfield's collection) and Cardinal Antonio Barberini's paintings (sold with Sir James Palmer's collection). Fine old Italian masters also appeared at Mr. Smith's (a gentleman), at his home on York Street (next to Bedford Gate), Covent Garden.

### French Portrait Painters

113. Jacques Courtois (called "Il Borgognone") (b. Saint Hippolyte 1621 - d. Rome 1676):  
Sale #103 15 June 1691 Two portraits "heads" in crayons.  
#109 13-16 Oct 1691 five religious subjects, probably the work of Il Borgognone's brother, Jacques Guillaume (1628 - d. Rome 1679).

114. Charles Le Brun (Paris 1719-1690):  
Sale #141 22-23 Jan. 1692 A portrait - "a head".

115. Andrew Wright (known as Old Wright) (b. ? - d. London 1543), Sergeant Painter to Henry VIII. Paintings by Old Wright in the sales 1689-1694 were rare. However, a later sale, on 4 May 1699, recorded six paintings by Wright, four of them were portraits.

116. William Dobson (b. Holborn 1610 - d. St. Martins Church 1646):

Sale #14 31 May 1689 "A portrait - a head"  
#64 24 Sept. 1690 "A ¾-length portrait"  
#109 13-16 Oct. 1690 "Earl of Pembroke"  
"King Charles I"  
An original - "head"  
#121 23 Nov. 1691 "A blackamoor with fruit in hand"  
"A woman's head"  
"A man's head"  
"Non-conformist Parson"  
#170 4 May 16 "Dobson and his Wife."

117. John Greenhill (1644/5 - d. 1676). A pupil of Sir Peter Lely:

Sale #64 24 Sept. 1690 A portrait of Prince Rupert

118. John Riley (b. Bishopsgate 1646 - d. London 1691), a pupil of Soest and Isaac Fuller (1606-1672). His works were well represented until the death of Lely, then rose to attain considerable merit. Portrait painter to Charles II; but not popular. Appointed State Painter to James II and his Queen and patronized by William and Mary.

Sale #32 16-17 Dec. 1689 Charles II after Riley  
#36 20-22 Feb. 1690 Charles II after Riley

|      |                 |                         |
|------|-----------------|-------------------------|
| #198 |                 | Charles II after Riley  |
| #269 |                 | Charles II after Riley  |
| #109 | 13-16 Oct. 1691 | Charles II after Riley. |

119. John Hales, probably John Hayles (b. ? - d. Bloomsbury 1679). Hayles was a rival of Lely. He was a copiest of Van Dyck and painted portraits of the Bedford family (Woburn Abbey). Samuel Pepys observed his work (see Chapter I above).

|      |     |                 |                   |
|------|-----|-----------------|-------------------|
| Sale | #36 | 20-22 Feb. 1690 | Sergeant Hodgkins |
|      | #64 | 24 Sept., 1690  | A portrait.       |

120. Edward Hawker (b. ? - d. 1723), a pupil of Lely:

|      |      |                 |                              |
|------|------|-----------------|------------------------------|
| Sale | #109 | 13-16 Oct. 1691 | King Charles II (after Lely) |
|------|------|-----------------|------------------------------|

#### Genre and Low Life Painting

121. Dulwich College Library. William Cartwright Inventory, MSS no.24 and MS no. 14.

122. Ibid.

Paintings by Heemskerck in the Cartwright Inventory valued at £15.0.0 were:

Lot #74 "A man on his death-bed, a doctor and nabors round about ye bed on a 3-quarters clouth in a gilt frame don by herskirk". \*£15.0.0 hermskirk".

#66 "A schulmaster & a schoul mistris & boys and gerles a there back on a bourd in a gilt frame by hemskirk, #6£ by hemskirk".

#62 "hemskirks head don by himselfe in a gilt frame a smal closit piece #10£ hemskirk".

#69 "A great larg pictur of sumer, An ould man & a boy shering sheep, a cart of corn, & s Repers, 2 women & a boy in a black and gold frame. After Basson. #15£."

#70 "A greate large pictur of ye Spring, in it 2 gotes a man & a woman milking them, a man with 2 gray-hounds a spanell and a hare on his shoulder & a man with a tube - in a black and gold frame don After Bassan. #15£."

#79 "A great large pictur of Auttum, in it the treding grappes in a tub .... #£15. After Bassan".

#80 "A great large pictur of winter, in it a man clearing of wood ... don after Bassan. #£15."

#30 "A skets [sic] of pilot giving our Saviour to ye Jews, in a browne frame, don on a bourd a closit peece, don by Tintoret 10£ &£10 Tintoret".

123. G.F. Warner, Catalogue of the Manuscripts and Muniments of Alleyn's College of God's Gift at Dulwich, MS no XIV (1881), p. 202.

See also Giles Waterfield, ed. Mr Cartwright's Pictures: A Seventeenth Century Collection (Suffolk: The Lavenham Press, Ltd., Dulwich Picture Gallery, 25 Novemeber 1987-28 February, 1988), pp. 5-11, 20-27,

124. Ibid., p. 202
125. Ibid., p. 203
126. Ibid, pp. 202-203.

Dutch Low Life

127. B.M.L. Sales Catalogues, op. cit., Egbert van Heemskerck (the younger), (b. Hamlin 1645 - d. London 1704). See also Note 129 below.

|      |        |                 |  |
|------|--------|-----------------|--|
| Sale | #18    | 28 June 1689    | "A droll"                                  |
|      |        |                 | "A droll"                                  |
|      | #21    | 12 July 1689    | "two droll paintings"                      |
|      | #28    | 1 Nov. 1689     | "A droll"                                  |
|      | #32    | 16-17 Dec. 1689 | "A droll with a Cabbage"                   |
|      |        |                 | "Two drolls Kissing and<br>smoking"[sic.]  |
|      | #36    | 20-22 Feb. 1690 | "A droll"                                  |
|      | #39    | 3 April 1690    | "A droll"                                  |
|      | #109   | 13-16 Oct. 1691 | Three drolls                               |
|      | 150(a) | 23 March 1693   | "Boors"                                    |
|      | #170   | 4 May 1699      | "Drolls - a painting after<br>Heemskerck." |

128. Mr. George Vertue, "Note Books" II. Walpole Society, vol. 20 (Oxford, 1932), pp. 128-129.:

"His Drunken Drolls his Wakes, his Quakers Meetings and lewd pieces have been the vogue amongst waggish collectors and the lower rank of virtuosi. He went in this grate way, but after all fell shorter of Brewer, Teniers & the rest of his Noble forerunners in the study of Sots Paradise. He was a man of humour much valued by the late Earl of Rochester for whom he painted several pieces. Died London 1704".

129. Thomas Martyn, The English Connoisseur ..., op. cit., II: 158. See also Martyn, I: 123 (at Charles Jennens). Another reference to Heemskerck in Jonathan Richardson, An Essay on the Theory of Painting, (London, 1715), p. 42.

130. Bryan Dictionary, vol II, p.90.

Bryan noted that Boone: "He painted drunken scenes and revelling in which his ambition appears to have as much or ugliness and deformity as a mind naturally vulgar could conceive."

A scholar of Hendrick Mommers: "He painted village wakes and rural assemblies, which are distinguished by a disgusting vulgarity of character which is not compensated by the agreeable tone of his colouring, or the spirit of his pencil".

131. B.M.L. Sales Catalogues, op. cit.

Daniel Boon (or Boone) (b. Holland ? - d. London 1698):

|      |     |               |                              |
|------|-----|---------------|------------------------------|
| Sale | #64 | 24 Sept. 1690 | "A man with a crowing cock"  |
|      |     |               | "A boy with a wax candle"    |
|      |     |               | "A roasted fowl"             |
|      |     |               | "A woman with a red herring" |
|      |     |               | "A woman receiving money"    |
|      |     |               | "A droll smoking".           |

132. B.M.L. Sales Catalogues, op. cit.

Nicholaas Droochsloot:

Sale #170 4 May 1699 "Seven acts of charity"  
"A Dutch fair".

133. Victoria & Albert Museum Library, MS 86.00.18-19.

134. B.M.L. Sales Catalogues, 1402.g.i., Cornelis Dusart (b. Haarlem 1660 - d. Haarlem 1704):  
150(a)23 March 1693 "A droll"

135. B.M.L. Sales Catalogues,  
Pieter van Laer (van Laar) (Haarlem 1582-1642):  
Sale #141 22-23 Jan. 1692 Undesignated subject.

136. B.M.L. Sales Catalogues, op. cit.,  
Cornelis de May (b. Rotterdam 1656 - d. Antwerp 1701):

Sale 150(a) 23 March 1693 A droll

137. B.M.L. Sales Catalogues, Ibid.  
Hendrick Potuyl (working in Amsterdam 1639-1690):  
Sale #14 31 May 1689 "2 paintings of drolls"  
#32 16-17 Dec. 1689 undesignated subject  
#36 26 feb. 1690 "A droll."

Bryan Dictionary, op. cit., IV: 150  
The latter author noted that paintings by Potuyl were rare.

138. B.M.L. Sales Catalogues, op. cit.  
Adriaen van de Venne (b. Delft 1589 - d. The Hague 1662):  
Sale #14 31 May 1689 A droll.

139. B.M.L. Sales Catalogues, op. cit.  
Cornelis Vischer (Amsterdam 1620-1670):  
Sale #14 31 May 1689 Drolls by Vischer & Ostade.

140. B.M.L. Sales Catalogues, op. cit.  
Adriaen van Ostade (Haarlem 1610-1685):  
Sale #14 31 May 1689 "A droll"  
#24 2 Aug. 1689 "A droll"  
\*(after Ostade) "A woman spinning"  
2 paintings after Van Ostade  
(undesignated)  
#36 20-22 Feb. 1690 "A droll"  
#170 4 May 1699 \*"A cobbler at work in stall and  
companion smoking a pipe"  
(probably a droll painting)  
\* "An old woman."

\* Three informal genre paintings.

141. #14, 31 May 1689, a print (undesignated subject) by van Ostade.

142. B.M.L. Sales Catalogues, op. cit.  
Gerard Dou (Leyden 1613-1675):  
Sale #121 23 Nov. 1691 "The little swimmer"  
#141 22-23 Jan. 1692 "A Doctor of Physick".



143. B.M.L. Sales Catalogues,  
Frans Hals (b. Antwerp 1580/81 - d. 1666):  
Sale #39 3 April 1670 A fortune.
144. B.M.L. Sales Catalogues,  
Egbert van Heemskerck (The Elder) (Haarlem 1610-1680):  
Sale #170 4 May 1699 Country people - 16 figures.
145. B.M.L. Sales Catalogues, op. cit., 1402.g.1,  
Egbert van Heemskerck (The Younger) (b. Haarlem 1645 - d. London 1704):  
Sale #21 12 July 1689 "A fortune teller"  
#24 2 Aug. 1689 Prints of Scripture stories  
2 pictures (undesigned subject)  
#32 16-17 Dec. 1689 Undesignated subject  
"Cookery"  
"Priests"  
"A fighting piece"  
"Friars in a grotto"  
"A man and a woman"  
"A man smoking"  
"Fryers of fish"  
#36 20-22 Feb. 1690 "A lady at confession"  
"A conversation"  
"A woman with a roast of beef"  
"Merry-making"  
"A friar and a nun"  
"A knife grinder"  
"A fishwoman fighting"  
#39 3 April 1690 "A fortune"  
(undesigned subject)  
(undesigned subject)  
A painting after Heemskerck  
"A bawdy house"  
"A man and woman singing a ballad"  
#64 24 Sept. 1690 (Undesignated subject)  
"2 Quaker meetings"  
"Drunkards"  
#103 15 June 1691 "A confession piece"  
"A bawdy house"  
"A grace piece"  
#109 13-16 Oct. 1691 A painting after Heemskerck  
"Smokers"  
"Good fellowship"  
"Table players"  
"A Quaker meeting"
146. B.M.L. Sales Catalogues, op. cit., 1402.g.1.  
Lucas van Leyden (Leyden 1494-1533):  
Sale #32 16-17 Dec. 1689 "A Dutch woman" (could also be  
classed as a portrait or genre study).  
Van Leyden was principally a history painter as early sales show:  
Sale #14 31 May 1689 2 drawings - history pieces.
147. B.M.L. Sales Catalogues, op. cit., 1402. g.1.  
Frans van Mieris (b. Delft 1635 - d. Leyden 1681):  
Sale #141 22-23 Jan. 1692 "A woman before a looking glass."

148. B.M.L. Sales Catalogues, op. cit..  
Gerard ter Borch (b. Zwolle 1617 - d. Deventer 1681):  
Sale #170 4 May 1699 "A beggar sleeping"  
In 1635 ter Borch visited England for a brief period and then went to Italy.

149. Jacob Ochterveld (b. Rotterdam ? - d. before 1710)  
Sale #170 4 May 1699 "A music piece with a fool."

150. Pieter van Roestraten (b. Haarlem c. 1627 - d. London 1698):  
Sale #64 24 Sept. 1690 "A cobbler and his family."

151. Godfried Schalcken (B. Dordrecht 1643 - d. The Hague 1706):  
Sale #170 4 May 1699 "Old man writing by candlelight" (after Schalcken).

### Flemish Low-Life and Genre

152. Pieter Breugel (The Elder) (b. nr. Breda 1530 - d. Brussels 1569; or Jan Breugel (b. Brussels 1568 - d. Antwerp 1625). The artist was generally called "Breugel" and it is therefore impossible to identify whether it was the older or younger Breugel.  
Sale #14 31 May 1689 3 drawings by Breugel

"A droll"  
#121 23 Nov. 1691 "The blind leading the blind".  
There were also a number of landscapes, birds and beasts, flower paintings and scenes of purgatory and hell by Breugel.

153. Adriaen Brouwer (b. Oudenarde 1605 - d. Antwerp 1638). Although this artist was a Fleming, art theorists have described his style as Dutch in character. His paintings had a profound influence on the low life paintings of Dutch artists, particularly Adriaen van Ostade.

Sale #24 2 Aug. 1689 "A fiddler" (after Brouwer)  
#28 1 Nov. 1689 "Three droll paintings" (after Brouwer)  
#36 20-22 Feb. 1689 "A man with a jug"  
#39 3 April 1690 A painting after Brouwer  
#64 24 Sept. 1690 A boor piece  
#141 22-23 Jan. 1692 A man with a pipe  
Two droll paintings  
150(a) 28 March 1693 Two droll paintings  
#170 4 May 1699 Five more low life paintings by Brouwer.

154. Jan Cossiers or Cossiers (b. Antwerp 1600 - d. Antwerp 1671):  
Sale #109 13-16 Oct. 1691 A droll.  
Thieme-Becker op. cit., vol. VII, p. 512-513 noted that Cossiers was primarily a portrait painter.

155. "Van Lanen", probably van der Lanen (b. Antwerp c. 1620 - d. Antwerp c. 1651/2), was a pupil of Frans Francken the younger and working in Antwerp in the 1620's. He is said to have painted conversations and "riotous subjects", some of them not very decent. Bryan's Dictionary, op. cit., vol. V, p. 246. Sales catalogue >18, 28 June 1689 lists a painting entitled "Wrestlers".

156. An artist called "van der Oost" was probably Jacob van Oost (b. Bruges 1601 - d. Bruges 1671):

Sale #13 15 June 1691 A droll

157. David Teniers II (b. Antwerp 1610 - d. Brussels 1690):

Sale #14 31 May 1689 A drawing of drolls  
A print of drolls

158. #24 2 Aug. A droll after Teniers  
#28 1 Nov. A droll-usurer after Teniers  
A droll after Teniers  
#32 16-17 Dec. 1689 A droll by Teniers  
#36 20-22 Feb. 1690 A droll by Teniers  
#103 15 June 1691 Two men lousing by Teniers.

159. An Estimate of the Pictures in Ham House, c. 1679:

Sale #32 Droll of Micars, School of Teniers, valued at £2.0.0  
#158 Orpheus of Bassan: a pastiche of Teniers after J. Bassano  
valued at £15.0.0.

### Flemish Genre Painting

160. Pieter Paul Rubens (b. Siegen 1577 - d. Antwerp 1640:

Sale #18 28 June 1689 "A night piece with gypsies".  
#14 31 May 1689 A friar  
#21 12 July 1689 A clown by an artist after Rubens.

161. Jacob Jordaens (b. Antwerp 1593 - d. Antwerp 1678):

150(a) 23 March 1693 "An old woman reading".

162. David Teniers II (Antwerp 1610 - Brussels 1690):

Sale #21 12 July 1689 Men Bowling  
#24 2 Aug. 1689 A boy whistling  
#28 1 Nov. 1689 An alchemist after Teniers  
#141 22-23 Jan. 1692 A countryman and his wife.

163. Willem de Ryck (b. Anvers 1635 - d. London 1699):

Sale #170 4 May 1699 A conversation piece.  
De Ryck's sale indicates that he was primarily a history painter and copied old master paintings.

164. Jan de Groot (b. Flushing 1650 - d. ?):

Sale #109 13-16 Oct. 1691 A conversation  
A conversation of music.

165. Late 17th-century inventories examined were:

(a) Gloucester Record Office D. 1799/E247. "List of Pictures sold by Thomas Povey to William Blathwayt 3rd Nov. 1693, together with a quantity of books for £500.0.0".

(b) London, Dulwich College Library, MSS no. 24. William Cartwright Inventory, dated 1686/7.

(c) Peter Thornton and Maurice Tomlin, The Furnishing and Decoration of Ham House, (London: Furniture History Society, 1980), pp. 8-177.

(d) Calendar of Treasury Books 1689-92, X, pp. 1679-1680, Earl of Melfort's collection

- (e) The Northumberland Estates Office: "An inventory of the late Right Honourable Jocelin, Earl of Northumberland's Personal Estate as it was at the time of his Decease the 21/31 of May 1670".  
(i) A note of the Pictures of Northumberland House, June 1671.  
(ii) Petworth House, 30th July 1691  
(iii) Syon House, 10th July 1691.
- (f) Home Park, Stowe, Sir Richard Temple's Inventory of 1685.

Italian and Venetian Low Life and Genre

166. Jacopo Bassano (1510? - 1592):  
Sale #21 12 July 1689 "A kitchen piece"  
#170 4 May 1699 "A piece of cookery".
167. Guido Reni (b. Bologna 1575 - 1642):  
Sale #103 15 June 1691 "A boy playing on bagpipes"  
after Guido Reni.
168. A painting by Salvator Rosa (b. Naples 1615 - d. Rome 1673) in Sale Catalogue :  
Sale #121 Nov. 1691 "A hermit".
169. Late seventeenth-century inventories included:  
(a) Dulwich College Library: Cartwright Inventory dated 1686/7. Paintings by Bassano of the Four Seasons: Lots #69, #70, #79, #80.  
(b) Ham House Inventory dated 1679. Paintings by Bassano: Lots #53, #54, #158.  
(c) Earl of Melfort's list of Paintings, Treasury Papers, op. cit., Lots #19, #89, #113, #24, #?, a large piece by Bassano valued at £5.0.0.
170. An inventory of Rt. Hon. Jocelin, Earl of Northumberland's personal estate, op. cit., including: An inventory of Northumberland House dated 30 July 1671: Lot #70.
171. An inventory of Petworth House dated 30 July 1671.
172. Ibid.

British Genre and Low Life

173. A painting by William Dobson (b. Holborn 1610 - d. St. Martin's Church 1646) at a sale by Edw. Davis and Edw. Millington, of a collection of valuable pictures consisting of the collections of Cardinal Antonio Barberini and Sir James Palmer, sale Lot # 121, on 23 Nov. 1691: "A singing master teaching a pupil to sing".

174. A painting by Robert Streater (b. London 1624 - d. London 1680), Sergeant Painter to King Charles II - a versatile painter of landscapes, still life, portraits, architecture and histories. A sale (Lot #32), 16-17 Dec. 1689, at the Outroper's Office at the west end of the Royal Exchange, listed a painting entitled "Five boys with Castinets"

175. "Brookel", an unidentified artist, painted a conversation piece listed in a sale, Lot #109, 13-16 Oct. 1691, at The Bell Tavern over against the Gate House in King Street, Westminster.

176. "Mason", an unidentified artist painted a "Smoker" listed in sale Lot #109, 13-16 Oct. 1691 (see previous sale). This artist could be the French engraver and painter (b. Louri nr. Orleans 1636 - d. Paris 1700); made engravings and paintings after Mignard.

177. "Moriner", an unidentified artist. A painting entitled "A butcher dressing a hog" listed in sale Lot #64, 24 Sept. 1690, at the house of Mr. Smith, gentleman, next to Bedford Gate in York Street, Covent Garden.

### Biblical Figures and Biblical Histories

#### German Biblical Histories

178. Prints by Albert Durer (b. Nurnberg - d. 1528) appeared in sale #14, 31 May 1689. These included a print of "St. Hieronymous and Melancholia"; a print of "The holy life of Our Saviour", and  
Sale #24 2 Aug. 1689 Woodcuts (undesigned subjects)  
by Durer.

179. These included many of the works listed above, and included the following painting:

150(a) 23 Jan. 1693, entitled "Our Saviour hoodwinked" by Durer.

180. "Lange John" or "Long John" (Johann von Bockhorst) (b. Munster 1610 - d. Munster ? 1668), a scholar of Jacob Jordaens in Antwerp. Modelling his work after Van Dyck.

Sale #64 24 Sept. 1691 "A painting of King Solomon's Judgement" painted by Bockhorst after Rubens.

181. B.M.L. Sales Catalogues.

"Bartolet" probably Flemal Bertholet II (b. Luttich 1614 - d. 1675)  
Sale #141 22-23 Jan. 1692 "The Scourging of Our Saviour"

182. Paintings by Franz Friedrich Franck (b. Ausburg 1627 - d. Ausburg 1687) appeared in the following sales:

|          |                 |   |
|----------|-----------------|---|
| Sale #21 | 12 July 1689    | Our Saviour carrying the Cross                                  |
|          |                 | Our Saviour carrying the Cross                                  |
| #36      | 16-17 Dec. 1690 | The last supper   |
| #64      | 24 Sept. 1690   | Our Saviour in the Temple                                       |
|          |                 | King Jephtha  |
| #103     | 13-16 Oct. 1691 | Moses in the Bulrushes  |
| #32      | 16-17 Dec. 1689 | Mary Magdalen with Angel by Franz Friedrich Franck the Younger. |

#### Italian Painters of Biblical Histories

183. Michelangelo ? (could be works after Michelangelo Buonarroti), (Caprese 1475 - Rome 1564)

|          |             |                                 |
|----------|-------------|---------------------------------|
| Sale #24 | 2 Aug. 1689 | "Print of The Day of Judgement" |
| #170     | 4 May 1699  | "Joseph Interpreting Pharoah's  |

184. Raphael d'Urbino (1483 - 1520 ):  
Sale # 14 31 May 1689 "The Ascension"
185. Andrea del Sarto (1486 - 1531):  
Sale # 14 31 May 1689 A print of a History Piece  
(probably a religious painting).
186. Guilio Romano (1499 - 1546):  
Sale # 14 31 May 1689 A print of a History  
(probably a religious painting).
187. Andrea Schiavone (1540? - 1563 ):  
Sale #121 23 Nov. 1691 A History .
188. Unidentified member of the Carracci family :  
Sale #28 1 Nov. 1689 "A Woman taken in Adultery"
189. Annibale Carracci (Bologna 1560 - Rome 1609 ):  
Sale # 36 20-22 Dec. 1690 "Cain Slaying Abel"  
#121 23 Nov. 1691 "Our Saviour Buffetted" [sic.]  
#141 22-23 Jan. 1692 "David with the Head of Goliath"
190. Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio (1571 - 1610 )  
Sale #121 23 Nov. 1691 "Our Saviour in the Garden"
191. Guido Reni (1575 - 1642 ):  
Sale # 14 31 May 1689 A print of "The Flight into  
Egypt"
192. Carlo Maratta (Marratti) (1625 - 1713):  
Sale # 18 28 June 1689 Four Large History Paintings  
(probably religious subjects)

### Biblical Histories

193. Jacob Jordaens (1593 1678):  
Sale # 64 24 Sept. 1690 "Suzanna and the Elders"  
after Jordaens
194. Apart from the well-known Jordaens and Van Dyck there were a number of lesser known Flemish and British painter of biblical histories. These included such artist as : Jasper Crayer (Antwerp 1584- Ghent 1669); an unknown artist Simon Denorse; van Laden; Van Ost ( probably Jacob van Oost (Bruges 1601 - 1671); Sibaldus Rheem; Lemens or Lemence; and Willobords/ Willburds. The native British artist Dixon (probably John Dixon working in the late seventeenth century); an unknown artist Flyer; Joseph Hindes; Old Palmer.

### Biblical Figures by Flemish Artists

195. An artist called Crayen or Cruyer ( probably, Jasper Cruyer) (b. Antwerp 1584 - d. Ghent 1669).  
Sale # 64 24 Sept. 1690 " Christ on the Cross"
196. Hendrick van Balen (b. Antwerp 1560 - d. Antwerp 1634) or his son, Jan van Balen (1611-1654):  
Sale #36 20-23 Feb. 1690 "St. John"

197. Thirteen prints after Sir Anthony Van Dyck (b. Antwerp 1599 - d. London 1641) appeared in a single sale, Lot #14, 31 May 1689. These included such religious figures as "A Madonna", "A Virgin". There were also a number of portraits.

198. Religious figures by Van Dyck included:

|      |      |                 |  |
|------|------|-----------------|--|
| Sale | #18  | 28 June 1689    | Two paintings of St Thomas             |
|      | #21  | 12 July 1689    | A Virgin and Child after Van Dyck      |
|      | #24  | 2 Aug. 1689     | A Virgin Mary after Van Dyck           |
|      | #32  | 16-17 Dec. 1689 | Our Saviour and St John after Van Dyck |
|      |      |                 | St John weeping after Van Dyck         |
|      | #141 | 22-23 Jan. 1692 | A Magdalen.                            |

199. "Franck the Younger"; Frans Francken (called The Younger) (b. Antwerp 1607 - d. Antwerp 1667):

|      |     |                 |                             |
|------|-----|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| Sale | #64 | 24 Sept. 1690   | King Jephtha                |
|      | #36 | 20-22 Feb. 1690 | Mary Magdalen and an Angel. |

200. Jacob Huysmans (b. Antwerp 1656 - d. London 1696):

|      |     |                 |                |
|------|-----|-----------------|----------------|
| Sale | #32 | 16-17 Dec. 1689 | A Virgin Mary. |
|------|-----|-----------------|----------------|

201. Balthazzar van Lemens (b. Antwerp 1637 - d. London 1704):

|      |     |             |                    |
|------|-----|-------------|--------------------|
| Sale | #24 | 2 Aug. 1689 | A Woman of Samaria |
|------|-----|-------------|--------------------|

Collaborated with Laroen; Lot #14, 13 May 1689 lists of drawing by Lemens and Laroen.

202. Peter Paul Rubens (b. Siegen 1577 - d. Antwerp 1640):

|      |        |                  |                                      |
|------|--------|------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Sale | #21    | 12 July 1689     | Judith and Holofernes after Rubens   |
|      | #36    | 20-22 Feb. 1690  | A large Madonna after Rubens         |
|      | #103   | 15 June 1691     | St Matthew                           |
|      | #141   | 22-23 Jan. 1692  | Virgin Mary and Angels               |
|      |        |                  | A Madonna by a disciple after Rubens |
|      | 150(a) | 22-23 March 1693 | St Peter ("a very fine painting")    |

203. Willem Deryck (b. Anvery 1635 - d. London 1699):

|      |      |                 |             |
|------|------|-----------------|-------------|
| Sale | #109 | 13-16 Oct. 1691 | A Magdalen. |
|------|------|-----------------|-------------|

This artist's goods were sold at a sale Lot #53, 30 June 1690. See Redford's Dictionary of Painters.

204. Maerten de Voss (b. Antwerp 1531/2 - d. 1603). A history and portrait painter:

|      |     |                 |   |
|------|-----|-----------------|---|
| Sale | #36 | 20-22 Feb. 1690 | "Joseph resisting his mistresses temptation". |
|------|-----|-----------------|---|

205. Thomas Willeboirts (b. Bergen-op-Zoom 1614 - d. Antwerp 1654):

|      |     |              |                     |
|------|-----|--------------|---------------------|
| Sale | #39 | 3 April 1690 | "A Madonna's head". |
|------|-----|--------------|---------------------|

206. Gerard Seghers (1591-1651). A number of religious histories in the sales catalogues, e.g.:

|      |      |                 |                                     |
|------|------|-----------------|-------------------------------------|
| Sale | #141 | 22-23 Jan. 1652 | "Peters denial, a night piece"      |
|      | #170 | 4 May 1699      | "An old man tempting a young woman" |

207. Mabuse (Jan Gossaert) (working 1503 - d. Breda ? 1532):

|      |     |              |                      |
|------|-----|--------------|----------------------|
| Sale | #39 | 3 April 1690 | "Our Saviours head". |
|------|-----|--------------|----------------------|

208. Martin Popijn (Antwerp 1575 - Antwerp 1642/3):

|      |     |                 |             |
|------|-----|-----------------|-------------|
| Sale | #36 | 20-22 Feb. 1690 | "A Virgin". |
|------|-----|-----------------|-------------|

209. Frans Pourbus II (b. Antwerp 1569 - d. Paris 1622):  
 Sale #18 28 June 1689 #103 Virgin Mary.
210. "Quellin", probably Erasmus Quellinus (b. Antwerp 1607-1678):  
 Sale #32 16-17 Dec. 1689 A prodigal son  
 Our Saviour and St John.

Italian Biblical Figures

211. Annibale Carracci (b. Bologna 1555 - d. Rome 1609):  
 Sale #36 20-22 Dec. 1690 A Madonna.  
 "Carracci" (unidentified first name):
- Sale #24 2 Aug. 1689 Virgin and Child  
 #28 1 Nov. 1680 A Virgin.
212. Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio (b. Milan or Caravaggio 1571 - d. 1610):  
 Sale #121 27 Nov. 1691 "St. Austin".
213. Prints by Poldero do Caravaggio (Polidoro Caldara) (1495/1500 - 1543):  
 Sale #14 31 May 1689 A print of a Madonna.
214. Andrea del Sarto (b. Florence 1486 - 1531):  
 Sale #121 23 Nov. 1691 A Trinity represented by 3 children.
215. Raphael d'Urbino (b. Urbino 1483 - d. Rome 1520):  
 Sale #14 31 May 1689 A print of Virgin and St Elizabeth  
 The Ascension
216. Guido Reni (b. Bologna 1575 - 1642):  
 Sale #121 23 Nov. 1691 A Madonna by a disciple of Guido Reni  
 St. Sebastian.

Biblical Figures: Other Countries

217. Titian (Tiziano Vecellio) (b. Pieve di Cadore 1488/9 - d. Venice 1576):  
 Sale #18 25 June 1689 St. John, a painting after Titian.  
 #121 23 Nov. 1691 A Madonna and Saviour.
218. Jacopo Tintoretto (Venice 1518-1594):  
 Sale #14 31 May 1689 A print of Moses in Wilderness  
 #21 12 July 1689 A St Jerome, a painting after Tintoretto
219. Jacques Courtois (Il Bourgoignone) (b. St Hippolyte 1621 - d. Rome 1676):  
 Sale #109 13-16 Oct. 1691 St. Sebastian  
 Lucretia  
 Magdalen  
 David and Bathsheba.



These latter were probably by Jacques's brother, Guillaume Courtois (b. 1628 - d. 1679).

220. German masters of biblical figures were Albert Durer (1471-1520):

Sale #64 24 Sept. 1690 "Our Saviour and Virgin".

221. Adam Elsheimer (b. Frankfurt 1574 - d. Rome 1670):

150 23 March 1693 Painting of "Judith"

222. Haak, The Golden Age op.cit., p. 144

223. Franz Friedrich Franck (Ausburg 1627-1687):

Sale #21 17 July 1689 "Our Saviour carrying the Cross.  
The latter artist was often confused with Frans Francken, called Franck "the Older" and "Younger" respectively.

224. "Wilbergh", an unidentified artist painted a "Mary Magdalen" and "A Virgin Mary" listed in a sale catalogue dated 14 Sept. 1690. Could be German or Flemish.

#### Allegorical Painting:

##### Dutch Allegories

225. B.M.L. Sales Catalogues, op. cit. Hendrick Goltzius (b. Mulbrecht 1558 - d. Haarlem 1617):

Sale #24 2 Aug. 1689 "Unity, Peace and Plenty"

226. Franz Hals (b. Antwerp 1580/81 - d. Haarlem 1666):

Sale #39 3 April 1690 "A fortune"

227. Cornelis van Haarlem (Haarlem 1562-1637):

Sale #64 24 Sept. 1690 A piece of fortune

228. Abraham Hondius (b. Rotterdam 1638 - d. London 1695):

Sale #39 3 April 1690 A Bacchus, Pallas & Venus

#64 24 Sept. 1690 A Bacchanal  
Mortality

229. Cornelis Poelenburgh (Utrecht 1586-1667):

Sale #121 23 Nov. 1691 A Satyr and a Woman  
A Temple of love

230. Frans van Mieris (b. Delft 1635 - d. Leyden 1681):

Sale #141 22-23 Jan. 1692 "A Woman before a looking glass".  
Could also be placed under the category of genre painting, but could also be an allegory.

231. Paris Bordone (b. Treviso 1500 - d. Venice 1571):

Sale #121 23 Nov. 1691 "A Courtesan looking into a glass"

232. "Van Hauka and Montingo":

The former is an unidentified Dutch or Flemish artist who must have worked in collaboration with Antonio Montingo, a flower painter and assistant to Verrio for paintings at Windsor.

Sale #64 24 Sept. 1690 "Flora"

Flemish Allegories

233. B.M.L. Sales Catalogues, op. cit. Jan Breugel (b. Brussels 1568 - d. Antwerp 1625):  
Sale #121 23 Nov. 1691 The Blind leading the Blind
234. Jacob Huysmans (b. Antwerp 1656 - d. London 1696):  
Sale #109 13-16 Oct. 1691 A Roman Charity
235. Sir Anthony van Dyck (b. Antwerp 1559 ? - d. London 1641):  
Sale #14 31 May 1689 Ecce Homo  
#36 20-22 Feb. 1690 Ecce Homo  
#39 3 April 1690 Ecce Homo  
#64 24 Sept. 1690 An original, skull and bone  
#103 15 June 1691 Skull and bone
236. #21 12 July 1689 Diana and Satyr after van Dyck  
Sale #28 1 Nov. 1689 Jupiter and a naked woman  
#32 16-17 Dec. 1689 Mars and Venus
237. Bartholomeus Spranger (b. Antwerp 1546 - d. Prague 1611):  
Sale #14 31 May 1689 Bacchus, Ceres and Venus  
#141 22-23 June 1692 Venus and Cupid  
#24 2 Aug. 1689 A print of "The Banquet of the gods"
238. Peter Paul Rubens (b. Siegen 1577 - d. Antwerp 1540):  
Sale #39 3 April 1690 A Sacrifice
239. Jan van Kessel (b. Antwerp 1626 - d. Antwerp 1679); or  
Jan van Kessel (The Younger) (b. Antwerp 1654 - d. Madrid 1708); or  
Ferdinand van Kessel (Eldest son) (b. Antwerp 1648 - d. Antwerp 1676):  
Sale #36 20-22 Feb. 1690 Four pieces of the Elements.

Italian and Venetian Allegories

240. Paris Bordone (b. Treviso 1500 - d. Venice 1571):  
Sale #121 22 Nov. 1691 "A Courtesan looking into a glass"
241. Titian (Tiziano Vecchio) (b. Pieve di Cadore c. 1480 - d. Venice 1576):  
Sale #36 20-22 Feb. 1690 Venus, Cupid and Satyrs  
#121 23 Nov. 1691 A naked Venus after Titian.
242. Jacopo Tintoretto (b. Venice 1518 - d. Venice 1594):  
Sale #24 2 Aug. 1689 Mars and Venus after Tintoretto.
243. "Carracci" (No name identified, but probably Annibale or Ludovico Carracci):  
Sale #14 31 May 1689 A print of The Four Elements
244. Jan van Kessel op. cit. See Note 219 above.
245. Raphael d'Urbino (b. Urbino 1483 - d. Rome 1520):  
Sale #141 22-23 Jan. 1692 The Fall of Phaethon
246. Guido Reni (b. Bologna 1576 - d. Bologna 1642):  
Sale #141 22-23 Jan 1692 A Fortune (life size)

247. Guilio Romano (b. Rome 1499 - d. Mantua 1546):  
Sale #14 31 May 1689 A print of Ten Roman Prophecies

248. Prints and drawings by this artist were not identified, but most of the paintings were figures of saints, e.g. St. John's head, Adam and Eve, John the Baptist, St. John with a lamb (after Goltzius).

249. Cornelis van Haarlem (Cornelis Cornelisz) (b. Haarlem 1562 - d. Haarlem 1637).

250. Abraham Blooteling (b. Amsterdam 1634 - d. Haarlem ? 1617):  
Sale #24 2 Aug. 1689 "A history of Unity Peace and Plenty".

251. Abraham Bloemaert (b. Gorcum c. 1564 - d. Utrecht c. 1658):  
Sale #14 31 May 1689, 9 mythological histories, mostly prints of "The Golden Age" and "Six Days Work".

252. Paintings by Adriaen Hennin or Heny (b. ? - d. London 1710) were listed in sales:  
Sale #64 24 Sept. 1690 "Two landscapes of Pomona"  
150(a) 23 March 1692 "A history of Arnaldo and Armedia".

#### Italian and Venetian Mythological Histories

253. Titian (1488/9-1576):  
Sale #36 20-22 Feb. 1690 Andromeda after Titian  
Venus, Cupid and Satyrs after Titian  
#121 23 Nov. 1691 A naked Venus after Titian  
#64 24 Sept. 1690 Venus and Cupid, a painting after Titian.

254. Paris Bordone (b. Treviso 1500 - d. Venice 1571):  
Sale #121 23 Nov. 1691 Venus and Satyr

255. Jacopo Tintoretto (b. Venice 1518 - 1594):  
Sale #24 2 Aug. 1689 Mars and Venus after Titian.

256. Raphael of Urbino (b. Urbino 1483 - Rome 1520):  
Sale #141 22-23 Jan. 1692 Fall of Phaethon.

257. Guilio Romano (b. Rome 1499 - d. Mantua 1546):  
Sale #121 23 Nov. 1691 A Medusa's head.

258. Pietro da Cortona (Pietro Berrettini) (b. Cortona 1596 - Rome 1669):  
Sale #64 24 Sept. 1690 A Bacchanal  
Diana and Nymphs.

259. Salvador Rosa (b. Naples 1615 - d. Rome 1673):  
Sale #121 23 Nov. 1691 "Ulysses".

#### Flemish Mythological Histories

260. Bartolomeus Spranger (b. Antwerp 1546 - d. Prague 1611):  
Sale #141 22-23 June 1692 Venus and Cupid

#14 31 May 1689 op. cit above, a history piece of Bacchus, Ceres and Venus.

261. Cornelis Schutt (b. Antwerp 1597 - d. 1655):  
Sale #18 28 June 1689 Jupiter and Leda.

262. Willem de Keyser (b. Antwerp 1647 - d. London c. 1692):  
Sale #64 24 Sept. 1690 Venus and Cupids.

#### French Mythological Histories

263. Simon Vouet (b. Paris 1590-1649):  
Sale #121 23 Nov. 1691 A painting of Venus and Adonis.

264. Guillaume Courtois (b. 1628 - d. 1679):  
Sale #109 13-16 Oct. 1691 Venus and Cupid.

265. Courtois (probably Jacques) (Saint Hippolyte 1621 - Rome 1676)  
Sale #109 13-16 Oct. 1691 "Lucretia"

266. Titian (1488/9- 1576):  
Sale # 36 20-22 Feb 1690 "Andromeda" (After Titian)

267. Caracci (Unidentified member of the family)  
Sale # 21 12 July 1689 "Mars and Venus"

268. Old Castala (Unknown artist)  
Sale #109 13-16 Oct. 1691 "Orpheus"

#### Dutch Still Life Artists

269. James Bogdany (b. Eperjes - d. Finchley 1724):  
Sale #103 15 June 1691 Fruit by a pupil of Bogdany  
2 paintings of fruit and flowers  
2 paintings of fruit and flowers by a pupil  
Grapes (after Bogdany)  
#64 24 Sept, 1691 2 paintings of flowers  
#141 22-23 Jan. 1692 Fruit by a disciple of Bogdany.

270. Pieter van Roestraten (b. Haarlem 1630 - d. London 1700):  
Sale #36 20-22 Feb. 1690 A still life  
#64 24 Sept. 1690 2 still life paintings.

271. Jo or Jan Steelingwarf or Stellingwerff (b. ? - d. 1736):  
Sale #32 16-17 Dec. 1689 A still life.

272. John Stevens (b. Holland ? - d. London 1722):  
Sale #64 24 Sept. 1690 Fruit.

273. William Verelst (Probably Harman/Heroman (c. 1641-1690 )):  
Sale #32 16-17 Dec. 1689 4 Flower paintings  
#39 3 April 1690 4 Flower paintings  
#64 24 Sept. 1690 2 Flower paintings  
A bird hanging  
Fruit  
17 Still life paintings by "Verelst".

274. Simon Verelst (b. Antwerp 1637/40 - d/ London 1710):  
Sale #64 24 Sept. 1690 A partridge  
Flowers.
275. Herman Verelst (b. The Hague 1641 - d. London 1690/1700):  
Sale #32 16-17 Dec. 1689 Fruit.
276. Willem Klaasz Heda (b. Haarlem 1594 - d. after 1678):  
Sale #103 15 June 1691 "A Still life... to be put in  
at £5.0.0".
277. Jan Davidsz de Heem (b. Utrecht after 1600 - d. Antwerp  
1674):  
Sale #18 28 June 1689 2 still life pieces  
Sweet meats  
#103 15 June 1691 Fruit (after de Heem)  
Fruit and oysters.
278. "Van Veen", no doubt Rochus van Veen (f. mid 17th century  
- d. Haarlem 1706). Nephew of Otto van Veen; he excelled in  
painting birds from life, or as still life pieces which were finely  
finished.  
Sale #21 12 July 1689 Dead birds.
279. "Van der Meer", probably Barend van der Meer (b. Haarlem c.  
1659 - d. ? ):  
Sale #103 15 June 1691 4 paintings of fruit.  
A sale after 1694 (#170, 4 May 1699) listed a fruit piece by van der  
Meer.
280. "Bonecroy", probably Bonnacroy (working in The Hague  
1650's - 1670's). Thieme-Becker op. cit., vol.IV. p. 307.  
Bonnecroy was a still life painter:  
Sale #103 15 June 1691 Flowers  
#109 13-16 Oct. 1691 Flowers
281. Van Hatten, and unidentified but prolific still life  
painter as the following lists from the sales catalogue indicates:  
Sale #32 16-17 Dec. 1689 A china pot  
#64 24 Sept. 1690 Unidentified  
A flute  
A vanitas  
#103 15 June 1671 Oysters  
A vanitas  
A skull  
#141 22-23 Jan. 1691 Rhenish wine (glasses?) and  
oysters.
- This artist might be "van Hauka" who collaborated with an assistant of  
Verrio called "Montingo" (Antonio Montingo), a flower painter, working  
in England in Charles II's reign after 1676.

#### Flemish Still Life Artists

282. Jan Breugel (b. Brussels 1568 - d. Antwerp 1625):  
Sale #28 1 Nov. 1689 A collation of flowers  
#53 30 June 1690 Birds  
#121 23 Nov. 1691 Flowers painted in the manner of  
Breugel.

283. "Van Balen" could be Hendrick van Balen (b. Antwerp 1560 - d. Antwerp 1632 or 1638), or his son: Jan van Balen (b. Antwerp 1611 - d. Antwerp 1654):

|      |      |                 |   |
|------|------|-----------------|---|
| Sale | #36  | 20-22 Feb. 1690 | St. John                                  |
|      | #103 | 15 June 1691    | A still life                              |
|      | #28  | 1 Nov. 1689     | A collation of flowers                    |
|      | #53  | 30 June 1690    | Birds                                     |
|      | #121 | 23 June 1691    | Flowers painted in the manner of Breugel. |

284. Called "Everbrodt" in the sale, but probably Frans van Everbroeck (b. Antwerp ? - working after 1672). Master of Jan van Son. The B.M.L. Sales Catalogues list a painting of "Fruit" for sale, Sale#39, 3 April 1690.

285. Joannes Fyt (b. Antwerp 1611 - d. Antwerp 1661):

|      |      |              |                      |
|------|------|--------------|----------------------|
| Sale | #121 | 23 Nov. 1691 | Fruit with a monkey. |
|------|------|--------------|----------------------|

286. An unidentified artist called "Gillemeau", could be Jan Paul Gillemans, a fruit and flower painter ( b. Antwerp 1650 - d. Amsterdam 1742?):

|      |     |              |                       |
|------|-----|--------------|-----------------------|
| Sale | #14 | 31 May 1689  | Subject not indicated |
|      | #39 | 3 April 1690 | Fruit.                |

287. Willem de Keyser II (b. Antwerp 1647 - d. London c. 1697):

|      |     |               |                              |
|------|-----|---------------|------------------------------|
| Sale | #64 | 24 Sept. 1690 | A still life with a lobster. |
|------|-----|---------------|------------------------------|

288. Frans Snyders (b. Antwerp 1597 - 1657):

|      |     |                 |                        |
|------|-----|-----------------|------------------------|
| Sale | #36 | 20-22 Feb. 1690 | Fruit                  |
|      | #39 | 3 April 1690    | #206 A Dog             |
|      | #64 | 24 Sept. 1690   | Subject not indicated. |

289. "Van Son or Zoon" - Jan van Son (b. Antwerp 1622 - d. Antwerp 1667) or his son: Jan van Son (The Younger) (b. Antwerp 1650 - d. London 1700. Horace Walpole, Anecdotes, op. cit., p , called the latter Francis van Son. Only one painting appeared in the B.M.L. Sales Catalogues:

|      |      |              |                    |
|------|------|--------------|--------------------|
| Sale | #121 | 23 Nov. 1691 | Fruit and flowers. |
|------|------|--------------|--------------------|

290. "Willebeck" could be "Willebeeck" (working Antwerp 1632-1646). Reference, Thieme-Becker, op. cit., vol. 34, p. 13.

|      |     |              |  |
|------|-----|--------------|--|
| Sale | #18 | 28 June 1689 | A teapot and coral                     |
|      |     |              | A teapot with a (statue of) St. George |
|      | #21 | 12 July 1689 | A still life.                          |

#### Italian Still Life Artists

291. Painting in the B.M.L. Sales Catalogues by Michelangelo Pace called Michelangelo di Campidoglio (b. Rome 1610 - d. Rome 1670):

|      |     |              |       |
|------|-----|--------------|-------|
| Sale | #53 | 30 June 1690 | Fruit |
|------|-----|--------------|-------|

Bryan's Dictionary, op. cit., vol. IV, p. 54, notes: "Fine pictures by Campidoglio in the collection of the Duke of Marlborough at Blenheim, and many others".

292. Jonathon Richardson, An Essay on the Theory of Painting, (London, 1715) pp. 42, 238-239 .

293. Mario de' Fiori (Mario Nuzzi) (b. Parma c. 1603 - d. Rome 1673):  
Sale #121 23 Nov. 1691 Flowers

294. In the B.M.L. Sales Catalogues an unidentified artist, "Castro", could be Pedro de Castro, a painter of still life (d. 1663):  
Sale #64 24 Sept. 1690, "A fruit piece, sold at the sale of Mr. Smith, gent., at his house in York St., Covent Garden". It is not known if this was J. Smith the engraver, who collaborated with L. Castro in the production of genre prints. Thieme-Becker, *op. cit.*, VI, p. 74, noted that there was also an artist called L. Castro (Laureys a Castro), a genre painter working in England in the 1700's, active with John Smith (engraver) in producing sheets of genre paintings such as "Judah and Tamar", "The young drinker", "A saleswoman of the times", and "The dissipated monk".

The Cartwright Collection (1687) contained a large number of seascapes by "Castro" (see below under 'Seascapes'), but it is not known if these were produced by the same artist.

#### French Still Life Artists

295. Jean Boulanger (b. Troyes 1566 - d. Modena 1660):  
Sale #103 15 June 1691 Two paintings of flowers

296. B.M.L. Sales Catalogues listed a print by the famous Jean-Baptiste Monnoyer (b. Lille 1634 - d. London 1699):  
Sale #14 31 May 1689 A print - a still life piece.

#### British Still Life Artists.

297. Henry Cook (1642-1700):  
Sale #21 12 July 1689 Flowers  
A festoon (of flowers).

298. In a sale on 23 March 1693 a fruit piece by an unidentified artist called "Smart".

#### Seascape Artists:

##### Dutch Seascape Artists

299. Ludolf Backhuizen (b. Emden 1631 - d. Amsterdam 1708):  
Sale #64 24 Sept. 1690 Seascape  
#103 24 Sept. 1690 Prospect of the Dutch East  
India warehouse and yachts.

In sales after 1694, sale Lot #170, 4 May 1699 listed:

- "A Prospect of Dover with Ships under Sail"
- "A prospect of Amsterdam with Backhuizen pictured".
- "A Seastorm with Wrecked Ships"
- "A Seastorm"

300. "A Seastorm by Griffier after Backhuizen  
"A Storm at Sea by Griffier after Backhuizen".

301. "A Sea Calm with Ships", by a disciple of Backhuizen  
"A Prospect of Amsterdam with ships and yachts", by a  
disciple of Backhuizen  
"A View of Amsterdam", by a disciple of Backhuizen.

302. Williem van de Velde (The Elder) (b. Leyden 1610 - d. London 1693) and/or his son, called "Van de Velde" in the sales, without identifying the artist as the elder or younger.

303. Willem van de Velde (The Younger) (b. Leyden 1633 - d. London 1707):

|      |      |                 |  |
|------|------|-----------------|--|
| Sale | #28  | 1 Nov. 1689     | A seapiece   |
|      | #32  | 16-17 Dec. 1689 | Portsmouth<br>Three seascape paintings<br>The Downs<br>A ship          |
|      | #36  | 20-22 Feb. 1690 | Two seascapes<br>A seahaven  |
|      | #39  | 3 April 1690    | A seascape, a flyboat in a storm<br>A flyboat in a storm<br>A seascape |
|      | #64  | 24 Sept. 1690   | Two seascape paintings<br>A ship on fire<br>Six seascape paintings     |
|      | #103 | 13 June 1691    | A seascape   |
|      | #109 | 13-16 Oct. 1691 | Two seascapes<br>A view of Barbadoes<br>A sea storm                    |

In sales after 1694, Lot 170. 14 May 1699:

304. Other titles included: A seastorm with ships wrecked  
Smacks turning to wind, at the buoy in the Nore  
His Majesties ship, the Lenox in a storm.

305. Jan Porcellis (or Porcelles), The Elder (b. Ghent 1584 - d. Southermonde 1632), and his son, Julius Porcellis (b. Rotterdam 1605 - d. Leyden 1645). It is impossible to know whether the paintings below are by the father or the son.

|      |      |                 |                                 |
|------|------|-----------------|---------------------------------|
| Sale | #18  | June 1689       | A seascape                      |
|      | #32  | 16-17 Dec.      | A seascape after J. Porcellis   |
|      | #39  | 3 April 1690    | #170 A seascape by J. Porcellis |
|      | #64  | 24 Sept. 1690   | A Seastorm                      |
|      | #103 | 15 June 1691    | A seapiece                      |
|      | #141 | 22-23 Jan. 1692 | A seastorm.                     |

After 1694, Sale Lot #170, 4 May 1699:

A seastorm by Porcellis.

306. "Antonius", probably Hendrick van Anthonissen (fl. mid 17th century):

|      |      |              |               |
|------|------|--------------|---------------|
| Sale | #103 | 15 June 1691 | Two seapieces |
|------|------|--------------|---------------|

After 1694. Lot #170, 4 May 1699:

A seastorm.

307. "Van Beeck", probably Jan Karel Donatus van Beecq (b. Amsterdam 1638 - d. Holland 1722):

|      |      |              |                           |
|------|------|--------------|---------------------------|
| Sale | #103 | 15 June 1691 | A seascape<br>A seascape. |
|------|------|--------------|---------------------------|

Thieme-Becker, Allgemeines Lexikon der Bilden... op. cit., III: 163. The latter author noted that the marine painter Van Beecq, lived in Paris after 1681.



308. An unidentified artist listed as "Brain" but probably "Breen", a Dutch artist who painted seascapes and portraits, the latter after 1694.

Sale #103 15 June 1691 Three paintings of seapieces  
A seascape.

309. Paintings in the B.M.L. Sales Catalogues 1689-1694, op. cit., listed seascapes and landscapes by an unidentified artist called "Leonard". Ogden op. cit., identified paintings by "Leonard" as Leonard Knyff (1650-1721). See above, under Dutch landscape artists.

Sale #103 15 June 1691 "Two [paintings of?] seaports in  
Streights".  
"A prospect of Hadilim" (a port?)

310. Pieter van der Meulen (? 17th. cent.). Reference Bryan's Dictionary op. cit., II, 248. Probably the brother of Frans van der Meulen, the painter of battles and hunts, who came to England to paint the exploits of William II.

Sale #14 31 May 1689 A seascape.

311. Cornelis Pietersz de Mooy (b. Rotterdam 1656 - d. Antwerp 1701):

Sale #103 15 June 1691 A seapiece  
#141 22-23 Jan. 1692 A moonlight seapiece.

312. "Van der Squire", an unidentified artist:

105(a) 23 March 1693 A seapiece.

313. "Van Suile", another unidentified artist:

Sale #103 15 June 1691 A sea piece with setting sun.

#### Flemish Seascape Artists

314. Andries van Artvelt (b. Antwerp 1590 - d. Antwerp 1652). The Sales Catalogues listed this artist as "Artovel".

Sale #103 15 June 1691 A sea storm.

Reference: Bryan Dictionary, op. cit., I: 55.

315. Bonaventura Peeters or Pieters (b. Antwerp 1614 - d. Hoboken 1652):

Sale #32 16-17 Dec. 1689 A seascape  
A seascape  
#103 15 June 1690 A seascape  
A seascape  
#64 24 Sept. 1690 A sea piece.

316. Isaac Salemaker (or Sailmaker), reference: H. Walpole's Anecdotes, op. cit., p. 174: Walpole noted that Isaac Salemaker was a Fleming employed by Cromwell to take a view of the fleet before Mardyke. A print of the Confederate fleet under Sir George Rooke engaging the French, commanded by Court de Toulouse, was engraved in 1714 from a design of Salemaker.

317. B.M.L. Sales Catalogues, op. cit., listed the following paintings by Salemaker:

Sale #14 31 May 1689 A seastorm  
#64 24 Sept. 1690 A seastorm  
A calm  
A seastorm

|        |                 |   |
|--------|-----------------|---|
| #103   | 15 June 1691    | A sea piece<br>A prospect of Antwerp<br>A sea piece<br>"Ile of Wight" |
| #103   | 15 June 1691    | Prospect of Temple<br>The Dutch and English [fleet?]                  |
| #141   | 22-23 Jan. 1692 | A prospect of Sheerness   |
| 150(a) | 23 March 1693   | A seaport.  |

After 1694:

|      |      |             |   |
|------|------|-------------|---|
| Sale | #170 | 4 May, 1699 | Man-o-war in a gale<br>Two men-o-war in a gale. |
|------|------|-------------|---|

318. The Sales Catalogues listed three paintings by an artist called "Castro". One painting was "A seaport" (31 May 1689), another "A fruit piece" (24 Sept. 1690), and the third "A Nude" (1 June 1691).

319. Dulwich College Library, The Cartwright Collection, op. cit., listed ten paintings by an artist called "Castro", No.'s 216, 217, 219, 220, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226 and 227. See also Giles Waterfield and Nicola Kalinsky et al. Mr Cartwright's Pictures : A Seventeenth Century Collection, (Dulwich Picture Gallery 25 Nov.1987-28 Feb.1988) pp. 72-77. Six of the above paintings listed in the original inventory are still extant at Dulwich and were included in the exhibition.

#### British Seascape Artists

B.M.L. Sales Catalogues, op. cit.

|      |  |
|------|--|
|      | 320. An unknown artist called "Bryen": |
| Sale | #141 22-23 Jan. 1692 A seapiece        |

|      |  |
|------|--|
|      | 321. "Old Pearce" (probably Edward Pierce, d. 1658): |
| Sale | #32 16-17 Dec. 1689 A seapiece.                      |

|  |   |
|--|---|
|  | 322. "Wagener" or "Waggenger" (probably Waggoner, working c. 1666): |
|  | 150(a) 23 March 1693 2 Paintings of seaports.                       |

323. George Vertue, Note Books, VIII, p. 124 (1745). Vertue added that prints were engraved by several engravers. Ten parcels, 4 each parcel.

324. Ibid.

See also Louise Lippincot, Selling Art in London: The Rise of Arthur Pond (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982), p. 62.

"Pond's oil copies of landscapes by Claude Lorrain, Pannini and Poussin which he popularized in engravings were also in demand as 'chimney pieces'".

Ibid., pp. 189 n.45. The author noted that a complete set of these prints as published by Pond (and reissued by John Boydell in 1774) included : Landscape with Boors Merrymaking by Teniers (collection of Peter Delme) by an unknown engraver after Teniers (August 1744); Moonlight (Christopher Batt) by Vivares after Aert van der Neer (March 1751); Firelight (Henry Hoare) by J. Wood after Rembrandt (1751) and others by Claude Lorrain, Nicolas and Gaspard Poussin, and Peter Tillemans.

See also Ibid., pp. 138, 144.

325. Ogden and Ogden, op. cit., p. 114.

326. Ibid.

327. Ibid.

328. The Diary of Samuel Pepys edited with additions by Henry B. Wheatley, 8 Vols. (London : G. Bell and Sons Ltd., 1949), Vols. VII-VIII, pp. 272-273.  
In an entry dated 11 April, 1669, Pepys wrote: "...He [Verelst] do ask £70. for it. [ a flower piecel I had the vanity to bid him £20." The very next day (12th. April) went to Verelst's studio to admire the painting again : "I did again offer £20. for it ; but he [Verelst] insists upon £50."  
Another reference: The Diary of Samuel Pepys edited Robert Latham and William Mathews et al. 10 Vols (London: G. Bell and Sons Ltd., 1972-1976 ) Vol. VII (1666), p. 125.  
In an entry dated 14-16 May, 1666, Pepys purchased a portrait of himself by the native British artist John Hayls for £14 and 25 shillings for the frame. At the same time he bought a copy of the latter portrait by Mr. Hills, which cost 7 shillings for the picture and 5 shillings for the frame " - in all 22.l. 10 s. I am very well satisfied in my pictures..."  
The Diary of Samuel Pepys Ibid., (1668-1669), IX: 293.  
In reference to Pepys observation of Holbein's painting in the Barber-Surgeon's Hall showing Henry VIII and the Barber Surgeons. It was a cartoon by Holbein but was never completed. Pepys noted (29 August, 1668): " I did think to give 200.l. for it, it being said to be worth 1,000 l.- but it is so spoiled that I have no mind to it, and is not a pleasant, but a good picture."

329. Ogden, op. cit., p.114.

Since Rosa's work was known from prints it is possible that admirers may have also purchased cheaper works in imitation of Rosa's style.

330. Frank Simpson, "Dutch Painting in England before 1760". op. cit., pp. 39-42.

331. Louise Lippincott, Selling Art in London: ... op. cit., pp. 138, 146-148, 144-5.

332. I am referring again here to Hogarth's comment that the ship loads of old master paintings, along with the sale of fakes and copies after the old masters which attracted an audience who had the disposable income to afford paintings. See also Lippincott's comment concerning increased competition amongst contemporary native artists during the period after 1730.

333. R.H. Fuchs, Dutch Painting (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1978), pp. 63, 78-80.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

1. London, National Gallery Library, A folder entitled 'A Catalogue of Pictures XVIII century', containing a List of Sales 1745 - 1802, p. 333.  
'A Catalogue of that truly superb and well-known Collection of Pictures of the Roman, Venetian, Spanish, French, Flemish, Dutch and British Schools;...; The whole will be sold on Saturday, April 8, 1786 by Private Contract, by a Committee appointed by Mons. Desenfans, at the Great Rooms late of the Royal Academy, No.125 Pall Mall, where the Nobility and Gentry may view the above Pictures.'
2. William H. Halewood, Six Subjects of Reformation Art: A preface to Rembrandt, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982).
3. Danby Pickering, ed. The Statutes at Large from the First Year of King William and Queen Mary to the Eighth Year of King William III to which is prefixed a table containing the titles of all Statutes during that period, (Cambridge: Joseph Bentham printer to the University 1764)IX: VII, 349-50.
4. London, Victoria and Albert Museum Library. MSS 86.00. 8-19 (Richard Houlditch, Jr.) Sale "Catalogues of the Principal Collections of Pictures (One Hundred and Seventy-one in number) Sold by Auction in England within the years 1711-1759 the greater part of them with Prices and Names of Purchasers", 2 vols.
5. Fritz Lugt, Repertoire des Catalogues de Ventes Publiques interresant L'Art on la Curiosite', 3 vols (La Haye: Martinus Nijhoff, 1938), I:1-6.
6. Iain Pears, "The Growth of Interest in Painting in England: 1680- 1768". Ph.D. dissertation, Oxford University, 1984.p. 168. In reference to E. M.Thompson, Correspondence of the Family of Hatton being chiefly letters addressed to Christopher, first Viscount Hatton A.D 1601-17022 Vols. (London : Camden society, 1878) II: 169. A letter from Sir Charles Hatton to an unknown correspondent, Jan. 28, 1691/2. noted that the boom in auction sales was at an end and mentions effect of second-rate Lely's on the market.
7. London, British Museum Library, 1402.g.1 (72), "Sales Catalogues".
8. London, National Gallery Library, A folder entitled 'A Catalogue of Pictures XVIII century', containing a List of Sales 1745 - 1802, 'A catalogue ... of Mons. Desenfans...' op. cit.,p.336.
9. Ibid., p. 333.
10. Ibid., pp. 333-35.
11. Lugt, op.cit., preface  
The preface of Lugt indicates that he obtained his list of Sales Catalogues from collections available in National Libraries in Britain and Europe. Volume I, covers the period 1600-1825. From 1695 to 1700 only four sales were listed by Lugt.
12. B.M.L., op.cit., "Sales Catalogues", A Survey of a number of Sales Catalogues from this Volume, 1689-1692. See also the list

13. London, Public Records Office, PRO E190. 140/5 Fo. 1-36  
Surveyor General of Customs 1686-1687, Imports by Aliens.

14. London, Public Records Office, PRO E190. 126/2  
Controller of Customs, Christmas 1685-86, Imports by Aliens.

15. Darby Pickering ed. Statutes at Large from the 5th to 9th Year of King

George I, op. cit., XIV:451.

This reference noted the duty payable by size for pictures imported after 25th March, 1722. Mr. Broderick proposed this latter Bill for changing import duties on paintings which was passed by the Commons in 1721 and hence acquired the name 'Boderick's Act'

16. Louise Lippencott, Selling Art in Georgian London: The Rise of Arthur Pond, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983), p.102.

17. V. & A. MSS. 86.00/18-19.

18. This particular treaty was called 'The Peace of Utrecht 1713'.

19. London, National Gallery Library, A folder entitled 'A Catalogue of Pictures XVIII century', containing a List of Sales 1745 - 1802; The sale of Mr John Bertels, Fri. April 7-8, 1775, lot #43 a landscape with cattle and figures by Cuyp, measuring 1'7" by 2'8", pp.244-251.

20. V. & A. MSS. 86.00/18.

1713/2+i Sir Andrew Fountain's Sale Lot # 81 "St. John Preaching in the Wilderness", £16.05.0.

21. Thomas Martyn, The English Connoisseur...; op.cit  
Chiswick (Duke of Devonshire) I: 30.  
Hagley Park (Seat of Lord Lyttleton) I: 62-73.  
Wilton (Duke of Pembroke) II: 153-181.

22. Iain Pears, The Interest in Collecting Painting in England, op. cit., p.336, (Appendix chapter 6, Table 1.).

23. Martyn, The English Connoisseur..., op. cit., pp. 130-143.

24. Ibid., pp. 153-54.

25. Ibid., 1726. Andrew Hay's Sale. "The Flight into Egypt". Duke of Devonshire, £20.

26. V. & A. MSS. 86.00/18 .

1747/8 +iii Mr. John van Spangen's Sale. lot # 23 "A Landscape with a Bacchanal, Pousin, a Sketch and a Skirmish". Bought by Harenc for £1.18.0.

27. Ibid., 1747/8 Mr. John van Spangen's Sale. lot # 33.; lot # 45 (3rd day); lot # 70 (3rd day).

28. Ibid., 1732 Sir Andrew Fountain's Sale. lot # 17 (1st day); lot # 63 (1st day).

29. London, National Gallery Library, op. cit., pp. 329-336  
'A Catalogue of that truly superb and well-known Collection of Pictures of the Roman, Venetian, Spanish, French, Flemish, Dutch and British Schools;...; The whole will be sold on Saturday, April 8, 1786 by Private Contract, by a Committee appointed by Mons. Desenfans, at the Great Rooms late of the Royal Academy, No.125 Pall Mall, where the Nobility and Gentry may view the above Pictures.'
30. Frank Simpson, "Dutch Painting in England before 1760", Burlington Magazine, op.cit p.41.
31. Ibid.
32. Frederick Harms, Les Tables Historiques et Chronologiques plus fameux Peintres Anciens et Modernes, (Bronswic, 1742), XVI The following references were cited by Harms : Arnold Houbraken, De Groote Schouburch der Nederlantschen Konstschilders en Schilderessen door Arnold Houbraken a Amsterdam, 1718 [p.44] Jacop Campo Weyerman, Levens beschryvingen der Nederlantschen Konstschilders en Schilderessen, door Jacop Campo Weyerman, S. Gravenhagen, 1729, [p.227];  
These were also eight additional other sources to which Harms referred : Carel van Mander (1604); Joach von Sandrart (1675); Felibien (1725); Roger de Piles (1715); Isaac Bullart (1682); Giorgio Vasari (1681); Carlo Ridolfi (1648); Pellegrino Antonio Orlandi da Bologna (1719).
33. Frank Simpson , 'The English Connoisseur and its Sources', Burlington Magazine No. 584, Vol XCIII (Nov. 1951), pp.355-356.
34. Vertue, "Note Books" 2, Walpole Society, vol.22 (Oxford, 1932), p.57.
35. Vertue, "Note Books" 4, Walpole Society, vol.24 (Oxford, 1936), p.91.
36. Ibid., p.128.
37. Ibid., p.193.
38. Thomas Martyn. The English Connoisseur..., op.cit. I: 130-134.
39. Paget Toynbee, ed. "Horace Walpole's Journal of Visits to Country Seats etc"., Walpole Society, (Oxford: printed for the Walpole Society by John Johnson at the University Press, 1928), 16:64.
40. Ibid., p.80.
41. Vertue, "Note Books" 5, Walpole Society, vol. 26 (Oxford, 1938), p.38.
42. Vertue, "Note Books" 1, Walpole Society, vol. 18 (Oxford, 1930), p.127
43. Alan Chong, "The Market for Landscape Painting", Masters of Seventeenth Century Dutch Landscape Painting ed. Peter C. Sutton. (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1987), pp.116-17. An examination of Table 3 showed that from 1676-1700 the highest prices for Van Laer's paintings was (DFa. 210.1; and the highest at DF1.500.0 which was

recorded twice in 1692).

44. V. & A. MSS. 86.00/18 .  
1726 Andrew Hay's Sale, A Landscape with figures, £13.18.0; and  
Constantine's Arch in Rome £15.15.0.
45. Ibid., 1747 Mr. Richardson's Sale 1747, A Landscape bought  
by Marshall. for £5.05.0.
46. Ibid., 1748 John van Spangen., A landscape with figures  
£3.03.0.
47. Vertue, "Note Books" 5, Walpole Society, vol. 26 (Oxford,  
1938), p.120
48. Martyn, The English Connoisseur, op.cit., I:127, 132.
49. Ibid. p.30
50. Toynbee, ed. 'Walpole's Visits...', 16:39
51. Simpson, 'The English Connoisseur and its Sources'  
Burlington Magazine, op. cit., 95:40.  
1749+11 Bragge lot # 24 A landscape. £51.10.0 Earl of Stamford.
52. Ibid. 1758 18 Mar. Dr. Bragge lot # 63 Landscape figs. by  
Berchem, £53.13.0. Lord Anton.
53. V. & A. MSS. 86.00. 18-19  
1735 Mr. James Thornhill's Sale. Paintings by Both.  
A small landscape £1.07.0  
A Landscape & figures £4.17.0
54. Ibid., 1722 Duke of Portland's Sale.  
A landscape with figures, bought by Howard £30.00.0  
A landscape with figures, bought by Hollingsworth £27.00.0
55. Vertue, "Note Books" 3, Walpole Society (Oxford, 1934)  
22:11
56. Martyn, The English Connoisseur, II:17,34.  
At Paul Methuen's the landscape by Both was situated in the Dressing-  
room 'over against the chimney'.
57. Ibid., 1:130-143.
58. Ibid., 1:
59. Simpson, 'Dutch Paintings...' Burlington Magazine, 95, No.  
599, pp.40-42.
60. Ibid., p.40.
61. Ibid.,  
See also Vertue, Note Books, 18. Walpole Society, (Oxford, 1930)  
I:11
62. V. & A. MSS. 86.00/I  
1722 Duke of Portland's Sale, A Landscape with figures and cattle and

Its Companion £13.13.0.

A Merrymaking in Chiaroscuro. Bought by Franklyn £15.04.6.

A landscape with figures and cattle. £53.00.0

63. 1748 John van Spangen's Sale.

lot # 53. Two small oval landscapes. Trevor. £3.05.0.

lot # 25 (3rd day). A landscape with figures. Cazulet. £7.07.0.

64. V. & A. MSS. 86.00 I.

65. Simpson, Burlington Magazine.op.cit., 95:40

66. Iain Pears, 'The Growth of Interest in Painting in England, 1686 - 1768'. Ph.D. Thesis, Oxford University, 1984. p. 171.

67. Ibid.

68. Ibid.

69. Ibid., p. 172.

70. Frederick Harms, Les Tables Historiques et Chronologiques...., XXV  
Harms used Houbraken p.109; Weyerman.p. 194 as sources of reference.

71. Frank Simpson; "The English Connoisseur" and its sources, The Burlington Magazine, 93 (1951), pp.355-56.

72. Martyn. The English Connoisseur, I: 1-11.  
John Barnard (M.P.) (Berkley Square).

73. Ibid., I:130-143.  
Charles Jennens Esq. Ormond St, Red Lion St. Holborn.

74. Ibid., 2:90-96  
Sir Gregory Page.

75. Ibid., 2:97.  
Lord Scarsdale, Palace by Kedleston near Derby.

76. Ibid., 2:118-130  
Duke of Pembroke at Wilton.

77. Vertue, "Note Books" 4:81.

78. Bob Haak, The Golden Age : Dutch painters of the Seventeenth Century (London: Thames and Hudson, 1984) p.404.

79. Simpson., 'Dutch Paintings...' Burlington Magazine 95:42  
V. & A. MSS. 86:00/18  
1722, 24 Feb. Duke of Portland. # 129 His family with Seaport and building £140.00.0. Dutchess of Marlborough.

80. V. & A. MSS. 86:00/18  
1722 Duke of Portland. A landscape with figures and ruins Lord Bridgewater. £34.00.0.

81. Ibid.,  
1722 Duke of Portland. A landscape with figures £8.15.0.



82. Haak, The Golden Age, op. cit., p.307.
83. Simpson, 95:42  
See also summary of prices from Sample 1 & 2 in Appendix. Another reference to Wynants see Pears, op.cit., p. 337.
84. V. & A. MSS. 86:00/18  
1722 Duke of Portland's Sale, A landscape with figures (bought by) Van Diest £10.10.0.
85. Ibid.,  
1748 Mr. John van Spangen's Sale, # 37. A landscape with figures (bought by) Bird £8.15.0.
86. Simpson, 95:42.  
1749+i. Bragge. # 52 A large landscape. £63.00.0 Duke of Ancaster.
87. Ibid.,  
1758 18 Mar. Dr. Bragge. # 61. Landscape figs. by A.V. d. Velde, £58.16.0 Sir R. Grosvenor.
88. Haak, The Golden Age, op. cit., p.387.
89. V. & A. MSS. 86:00/18  
1722 Duke of Portland's Sale, A Landscape with hunting D. Kent £32.00.0
90. Ibid.,  
1726 Mr. Andrew Hay's Sale. A landscape with figs. & horses. £29.08.6
91. Ibid.,  
1748 Mr. John van Spangen's Sale. # 54 Landscape with Cattle. Capt. Forrest. £2.15.0.
92. Ibid.,  
# 62 (3rd day) A return from hunting, Bouverie £31.10.0
93. Ibid.,  
# 76 (3rd day) A large picture of a Return from Hunting £126.00.0
94. Simpson, 'Dutch Paintings...' Burlington Magazine 95:42.
95. Ibid.
96. National Gallery Library, 'A Catalogue of Pictures XVIII century, 1745-1802', Mons. Desenfans Collection, op. cit., p.333.
97. Pears, 'The Growth of Interest in Collecting...', op. cit., p.172.
98. Ibid., pp.172-174.
99. Harms, Les Tables Historiques et Chronologiques... op.cit., XXVIII.
100. V. & A. MSS. 86:00/18  
1726 Mr. Andrew Hay's Sale, Nymphs & Satyrs. Col.Rolles £2.17.6  
Mr. Andrew Hay's Sale, Its Companion £4.10.0

Mr. Andrew Hay's Sale, A Basso Relievo with ruins and figures by Ferguson & van der Cabel. Mr. Robt. Sutton £25.05.0

101. Ibid., 86:00/18

1746/7 Mr. Richardson's Sale, A long landscape with a seaport. Bought by Harene for D. Rutland. £2.02.0.

102. Martyn, The English Connoisseur I: 125 (at Charles Jennens' Ormond and Red Lion Street).

103. London, National Gallery Library, Box A X1. 12. 9 (Sale Catalogues) Mr. Bragge 15-16 Feb. 1750 at Prestages (Lugt #715).

104. Two unpriced paintings, in Scheemaker's Sale, 1756. A landscape with figures; Mr. Glover's Sale 1745. A Landscape

105. Harms, Les Tables Historiques et Chronologiques... XVII

106. Martyn, The English Connoisseur, I :117-143.

107. Haak, The Golden Age, p.304.

108. Ibid., p.382.

109. Leslie Stephen, ed. Dictionary of National Biography (London : Smith Elder & Co., 1896), vol. 18:369.

Lord Pomfret (Earl of) [See Fermor, Thomas William] probably, George, Lord Pomfret, son of Countess Henrietta Louisa. Lord Pomfret (see above) died 8th July 1753, and was succeeded by his eldest son George. The sons extravagance obliged him to sell furniture of his seat at Easton Neston, Northamptonshire. His statues, which had been part of the Arundelian Collection, and had been purchased by his grandfather, were bought by his Mother for presentation to the University of Oxford. No paintings mentioned although in 1738-1741. The Countess and her husband went on a tour to France and Italy residing in Florence; returning via Bologna, Venice, Ausburg, Frankfurt, and Brussels.

110. Ibid., 8:268.

Lord Baltimore, probably 7th Lord Baltimore (1731-1771) eldest son of Charles 6th Lord Baltimore by Mary, youngest daughter of Sir Theodore Janssens.

111. Simpson, 'Dutch Paintings...' Burlington Magazine 95:41.

1745+ii. Blackwood. # 32. Landscape with a Ferryboat, £24.13.6., purchased by Sir. E. Littleton.

112. Ibid.,

1755+1. Blackwood. # 36. A Moonlight. £25.04.0. Sir J. Vanneck.

113. Ibid.,

1757+ii. Dr. Bragge. # 47. A Summer Evening. £32.11.0. Curzon.

114. 1759+ii. Dr. Bragge. # 48. A Moonlight. £32.00.6. Lord Coventry.

115. Harms. Les Tables Historiques et Chronologiques... op. cit., (pages not numbered).

116. Martyn, The English Connoisseur op.cit., I:57-62. Bouchier Cleeve. (Footscray Place, Kent)

117. Ibid., I:62.

118. Ibid., I:123, 137, 141.  
(Charles Jennens)

119. Louise Lippincott, Selling Art in Georgian London : The Rise of Arthur Poud, op. cit., pp.144, 147, 61.

120. V. & A. MSS. 86:00/18.  
1748 Mr. John van Spangen's Sale  
# 4 A Conversation Ostade & view by Goen (sic), Harene/Harenc. £1.01.0  
# 18 (2nd day). A small landscape & figs. Pudsey. £1.08.0.  
# 30 (3rd day). A view of Scheveling (sic) [Scheveningen] Knapton  
£12.12.0

121. Simpson, 95:41.  
1758+1. Rougent. # 37. Views on the Rhine. £3.04.0. Sir J.  
Vanneck.

122. Martyn, The English Connoisseur, 1:130-143.  
Charles Jennens, Ormond St. Red Lion St. Holborn.

123. Ibid., I:  
Duke of Devonshire's at Chiswick.

124. Idem, I:130-143.

125. Ibid.

126. V. & A. MSS. 86:00/18  
1722 Duke of Portland's Sale, A Waterfall £13.02.0

127. Ibid., 89:00/18  
1747/8 Mr. John van Spangen's Sale  
# 26 A landscape & figures, van der Guyten £7.00.0  
# 48 A landscape & figures, Hamilton £16.05.0  
# 49 Its companion, Dufour £11.16.0  
# 69 A landscape and figures, Sir W. Beauchamp £18.00.0  
# 11+11 A View of Sheveling (Scheveningen) Harenc £5.10.0  
# 24+11 A landscape and figures, Blackwood £5.05.0  
# 25 Its Companion, Lord Londonderry £9.05.0  
# 33 A landscape with a waterfall, Bird £20.05.0  
# 40 +11 A landscape with Cattle and Ducks, East £26.10.0  
# 51 A landscape with a Watermill, Lord Ashburnham £35.10.0  
# 56 A small landscape & figures by Raysdael/Rysdale. D. Rutland  
£12.01.6  
# 77 A landscape, figs. by Wouwermans, Lord Petersham £32.00.6  
# 57+111 A small landscape with figs. Harene/Harenc £21.10.0  
# 65+111 A landscape and figures. Ld. Petersham £22.01.0  
# 68 A landscape and figures. Bolton £46.04.0  
# 72 A view with figures. Bolton £46.14.6

128. Ibid.

129. Ibid.

130. Martyn, op.cit., I: 136  
Simpson, op. cit., 95:42.  
1757+11 Blackwood. # 60 View of Scheveningen, storm coming on.  
£17.06.6 (Jennens).

131. V. & A. MSS. 86:00/18  
1748 John van Spangen's Sale. See previous list of paintings.
132. Ibid.
133. Haak, The Golden Age, p.465.
134. Simpson, 95:41.
135. Alan Chong, "The market of landscape painting", op.cit., p.116.
136. V & A. 86:00/18  
1748 John van Spangen's Sale.  
# 29 A landscape with a man driving a cow, Thompson. £1.18.0  
# 42 A landscape with figure. Scarlet £3.17.0  
# 53 A small landscape with Cattle, Oldfield £6.10.0  
# 52+iii Two landscapes and figures, Bird £17.17.0  
# 71+iii A view with figures. Montgomery £22.01.0
137. Harms, Les Tables Historiques et Chronologiques xxx
138. Martyn, The English Connoisseur, I:57-62
139. Ibid., I:130-143.
140. Haak, The Golden Age, p.471.
141. Martyn, The English Connoisseur, I: 117-143.
142. V. & A. MSS. 86:00/18  
1748+iii John van Spangen's Sale, # 9 A cupid with dogs Donne £0.15.6
143. Harms, Les Tables Historiques et Chronologiques,xxxiii  
(33)
- John Savage, The Art of Painting and the Lives of Painters: Containing A Complete Treatise of Painting, Designing and the Use of most Celebrated Painters, and of the several Schools of Europe, as well as Ancient and Modern...to which is added An Essay towards an English-School, with the lives and Characters of above 100 Painters. (London: J. Nutt, 1706), pp. 398-480.
144. Horace Walpole, Anecdotes of Painting in England (London: Ward, Lock & Co., 1879), p.224. An introductory preface concerning the history of Walpoles 'Anecdotes' noted: In 1761, Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting... first appeared. In 1763, the companion volume of 'Engravers' appeared, and in 1771 the set was complete.
145. Vertue, 'Note Books', 2 Walpole Society, (Oxford, 1932), 10:13.
146. Ibid., 'Note Books', 3 (1934) 22:30.
147. Ibid., 'Note Books', 4 (1936) 24:61.
148. Ibid., 24:34.
149. Ibid., 'Note Books', 6 (1947) 30:177-180.

150. Ibid., 'Note Books', 5 (1938) 26:84.
151. V. & A. MSS. 86:00/18  
1735 Mr. James Thornbill's Sale. A seaport, the manner of (old Wyck) £3.13.6.
152. V. & A. 86:00/18  
(No date cited) The Marquis Cassanedi's Sale. # 21 A seaport with figures by Old Wyck. £4.04.0.
153. Ibid.,  
1740+2 Lord Halifax's Sale. # 31 King Williams Entry £7.07.0.
154. Ibid.,  
1747 Mr. Richardson's Sale. An Evening, Dr. Chauncey £0.17.0.  
1747 Mr. Richardson's Sale. A Battle, Maddison £1.00.0.  
1747 Mr. Richardson's Sale. A landship (sic), van Hawken £1.01.0.  
1740+11 Lord Halifax's Sale. # 76 A Turkish Horse £6.11.0.  
1748 John van Spangen's Sale. # 43 A Stag Hunting £2.01.0.
155. Vertue, 'Note Books', 1 Walpole Society, (Oxford, 1930) 18:100,132.
156. Walpole, Anecdotes of Painting, p.244.
157. Ibid.
158. Vertue, 'Note Books' 1. (1930) 18:100.
159. Ibid., 18:132.
160. Walpole, Anecdotes of Painting, p.245.  
Martyn, The English Connoisseur, I :81-117 .
161. Martyn, op. cit., I:130-143.
162. Ibid., 2:1-16.
163. National Gallery Library, 'A Catalogue of Pictures of the XVIII century, 1745-1802', Mons. Desenfans Collection, op. cit., p.333.
164. Simpson, 'Dutch Painting in England', Burlington Magazine 95:599;41
165. Ibid., p.41.
166. Ibid., p.42.
167. Pears op. cit., p.336.
168. Ibid.
169. V. & A. MSS. 86:00/18.  
See the list in the appendices to this chapter.
170. Simpson, Burlington Magazine, 95: 599; 41  
1748 11 Feb. John van Spangen. # 55. A Conversation £8.00.0 Duke of Rutland.  
1756 1st Apr. John de Pestere. # 27. A Doctor in his Study. 10 by 9.

£17.06.6. Beckford.  
1756 1st Apr. John de Pestere. # 28. Its Companion. 10 by 9.  
£18.07.6, Beckford.  
1756 15 Apr. Christopher Batt. # 54. A School, in his best manner.  
£78.15.0. Mayne.

171. Ibid.

172. Simpson, Burlington Magazine, 95: 599; 41.  
1722 6 Aug. Wm. van Huls. # 129. Ladies in their Bedchamber.  
£52.10.0. bought by Edwin.  
1754 25 Jan. Dr. Bragge. # 54. A Gentleman at his Mistress's toilet,  
her a pinch of snuff, she is stringing a pearl, 22 by 16. £21.10.6.  
Moreland.

173. Simpson, Ibid., 95: 41.  
1748 11 Feb. John van Spangen. # 72. Amnon & Tamar. £105.00.0.  
Moreland.

1758+11 Rougent. # 68. Rinaldo & Armida. £63.00.0. Sir H.  
Ibbetson.

174. Ibid., p.41.  
1722 6 Aug. Wm. van Huls. # 86. Old Lady with a dram bottle.  
£11.05.0. Sir Scipio Hill.  
1722 6 Aug. Wm. van Huls. # 87. Lady with a dog. £12.12.0. Sir Scipio  
Hill.

175. Simpson, 'Dutch Paintings...' Burlington Magazine, 95:41.  
1722 6 Aug. Wm. van Huls. # 22. Self Portrait. £80.00.0 Thomas  
Broderick M.P. [see Vertue III, p.9.]

176. Ibid.  
1742 29 Apr. Mr. M. de Piles. # 36. Man's head with a turban.  
£78.15.0. Duke of Devonshire.[ see Hofstede de Groot, 346]

177. Ibid.  
1744+11 Sir John Rawdon. # 51. Adm. van Tromp, )  
capital ) £141.15.0  
1744+11 Sir John Rawdon. # 52. His Wife, its ) Bragge  
Companion )

178. Ibid.  
1754 16 Feb. Chev. Couray. # 27. The Resurrection of Lazarus 46 by 41  
£166.00.0. (Unknown buyer).

179. V. & A. MSS. 86:00/18-19  
See also summary of prices paid for seventeenth century Dutch  
portraiture in Appendix of this thesis.

180. Pears, A Growth of Interest in Collecting Paintings in  
England... op. cit., p.338.

181. Ibid.

182. Ibid.

183. Ibid.

184. West Sussex Record Office, PHA 6267. 1764, 'An Inventory  
of ye furniture belonging to the Rt.Honorable The Earl of Egremont, at

Egremont House, Picadilly, London'. A note attached indicated that 'Charles E. of Egremont, died Aug. 21, 1763' and thus the inventory of his belongings must have been compiled shortly afterwards.

185. Martyn, The English Connoisseur 1:30.

186. V. & A. MSS. 86:00/18

Systematic sample: 1722 Duke of Portlands Sale, The Church of Antwerp, Lord Bridgwater. paid £33.12.0.

187. Simpson, Burlington Magazine, 95:41-42

188. Francis Haskell, Patrons and Painters : A Study in the Relationsbetween Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque, (New Haven and London : Yale University Press, 1980), p.296.

189. Houlditch Sales Catalogues, op.cit., Mr. Paris's Sale of Paintings in 1741, A Holy Family by I.(or J.) Bellini. Purchased by Lord Cholmondeley for £110.05.0.

190. Simpson, Burlington Magazine, 95:42.

191. V. & A. MSS. 86:00/18-19.

Random Sample of Sales Catalogues : Sample 1: 1750. Mr. Edwin's Sale. # 57. Figures playing at Chess. (Drinkwater, bought in) £122.07.0.

192. R. W. Goulding and C. K. Adams, Catalogue of the Pictures Belonging to His Grace the Duke of Portland, K.G. at Welbeck Abbey, (London and Cambridge: 1936), p.XXXVI.  
See also, British Museum Library, London. Add. MS. 23073, p.496.

193. Ibid.

194. V. & A. MSS. 86:00/18.

1747 Mr. Richardson's Sale. An Old Mans Head. (on board) £1.17.0.  
Van Harken (Hanken ?).

1735 Mr. James Thornhill's Sale. A small half-length, after, £0.07.0

1732+i Sir Andrew Fountain's Sale, # 4. The Queen Mother by Sir Peter Lely, after Van Dyke. £1.00.0.

1782+i Sir Andrew Fountain's Sale. # 24. Sampsons Head. £1.11.6.

195. Ibid.,

1747 Mr. Richardson's Sale contained a number of paintings (5 in total) priced over £10.00.0.

1740 Lord Halifax's Sale. # 65. Two heads in Chiaroscuro £13.02.6.

196. Ibid.,

1728+i Mr. Philipps Sale, The Discovery of Achilles by Ulysses, Very Capital....., Scott, £150.00.0.

197. Ibid.,

1722 Duke of Portland, A Bacchanal, £206.00.0, Duke of Marlborough.

1722 Duke of Portland, The Roman Charity £500.00.0, Duke of Marlborough.

198. There were very few prices recorded for still life paintings by such Dutch artists as De Heem (at Mr. Jett's sale in 1730/1 two still life paintings were sold but no prices were recorded); and judging from the absence of paintings by Van Huysum in the samples indicates that paintings by this latter artist were

rare. At Lord Pomfret's sale in 1754 lot#22 (2nd. day) A Parrot, a companion piece to a flower piece by Simon Verelst (b.Antwerp, 1639/40- d. London 1710) sold for £1.9.0.

199. Haak, The Golden Age, p.144.

200. Ibid., p.139.

201. Ibid.

202. V. & A. MSS. 86:00/18-19.

Sample 1: 1755 Bragge's Sale of Pictures. # 35. A Mans Portrait £9.19.6. Bought by Col. Elliot.

203. Ibid. 86:00/18-19.

Sample 2: 1743 John van Spangen, # 54. Francis I France £14.14.0.  
1743 John van Spangen, # 55. His Queen, its companion. £4.04.0.

204. Ibid., 86:00/18-19.

Sample 2: 175-+11 Blackwood, # 66. A large landscape and figures £31.10.0 [B ought by] Gordon.

205. Ibid., 86:00/18-19.

Sample 1: 1758+1 Mr. Furnese's Sale, # 30. A Holy Family with Angels £11.00.6 bought by Lord Duncannon.

206. Ibid., 86:00/19, 172.

Sample 1: 1759+1 Sale at Prestages (in part) # 63. Mars, Venus, etc. £15.15.0. purchased by Houlditch.

207. Ibid., 86:00/18-19.

Sample 1: 1748+11 Sir John van Spangens' Sale, # 9 Lord Fairfax (half-length) £0.19.0. purchased by Capt. Bodens.  
1739 Mr. Norton's Sale, # 89. A Moors Head. £1.14.0

208. Ibid., 86:00/18-19.

Sample 1: 1739 Mr. Norton's Sale, A Lady (half-length) £1.01.0

209. Ibid.

Sample 1: 1741+vi Lord Orford's Sale, # 27. King Charles 2nd (half-length), £11.11.0. (Bought by) Smart.

210. Ibid.,

Sample 1: 1743 Mr. Scawen's Sale, King Charles 1 on Horseback after Van Dyck by 'Old Stone' £15.15.0.

211. Goulding and Adams, Catalogue of the Pictures belonging to His Grace The Duke of Portland (Cambridge 1936) op.cit; xxiii (MSS of Adrian Drift) Lot # 97 Dobson, King Charles I on Horseback after van Dyck. £4.00.0

212. Ibid.

Another example, for comparison - lot # 65 by Dixon, Christ taking down from the Cross, water colours, after Van-Dyck (sic) £4.00.0 (p.35, No. 28 of 1741/2 Sale)

213. Ibid., xxii - xxiii

In 1721 The highest price was £10.00.0 for lot 59 Abraham Bloemaert's The Golden Age (445) [Welbeck Catalogue No.]



214. V. & A. MSS. 86:00/18-19.  
Sample 1: 1735+11 Sir James Thornhill's Sale, # 51 A piece of ruins by Pannini the figures by J. Thornhill. £7.00.0.
215. Ibid.  
Sample 1: 1735+11 Sir James Thornhill's Sale, # 91. A landscape by Sir James Thornhill. £5.05.0.
216. V. & A. MSS. 86:00/18-19.  
Sample 1: 1735+11 Sir James Thornhill's Sale, # 11 Saint John preaching in the Wilderness, £1.11.0.
217. Ibid.  
Sample 2: 1735 Sir James Thornhill's Sale, # 56 A Ceiling piece, the Feast of the Gods. £3.05.0.  
# 57 (Its Companion), A ceiling piece. Apollo and the Muses. £2.02.0.
218. London National Gallery Library, A Catalogue of Pictures of the XVIII, 'Desenfans Catalogue', op.cit., p.333.
219. Ibid., pp. 333-336.
220. Pears, The Growth in Interest in Painting in England... op. cit., p.171-2.
221. London, National Gallery Library, '...Desenfans Catalogue...', op. cit., p.335.
222. Louise Lippincott, Selling Art in Georgian London : The Rise of Arthur Pond, op. cit., p.64.
223. Ibid., p. 183 n.14.
224. Ibid., p. 64
225. Ibid.
226. Ibid.
227. Ibid.
228. Ibid., p. 181 n.25.
229. John Pye, The Patronage of British Art: An Historical Sketch (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, 1845), p. 26.
230. Francis Russell, Apollo 'The Pictures of John Fourth Duke of Bedford', Vol.CXXVII, (June 1988) No. 316, p. 404.
231. Roy Porter, English Society in the Eighteenth Century(Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1982), pp. 252-53; 257-8,300.
232. Anne Buck, Dress in Eighteenth Century England. (London: B.T. Batsford, 1979) p. 164, 160.  
See Verney Letters of the Eighteenth Century from the MSS at Claydon House, ed. Lady Margaret Maria Verney, 1950, I: 173; II: 61.

233. Ibid., p. 164  
See The Purefoy Letters, 1735-1753, ed. G. Eland, 1931, II: 295, 296, 298.
234. Ibid., p. 166.
235. Ibid., p. 157.
236. Ibid., p. 160  
See also Wrest Park Papers, L/31/141.
237. Ibid.
238. Louise Lippincott, Selling Art in Georgian London... op. cit., p. 72.
239. Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and J.H. Plumb, The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth Century England (London: Hutchinson and Co., (Publishers) Ltd., 1983 ) pp. 100-145.
240. London, National Gallery Library, Desenfans Sale Catalogue, op.cit., p.333.
241. Geoffrey Holmes, Britain after the Glorious Revolution 1689-1714 ( London: Macmillan Education Ltd., 1969, 1987) pp. 135-154; 144-45.  
See also Christopher Hill, The Century of Revolution 1603-1714 (Wokingham, Berks: Van Nostrand Reinhold (UK) Co. Ltd., 1961, 1980) pp. 136-137, 174, 187, 230-31, 232-34.
242. Pye, Patronage of British Art, op. cit., pp. 149-150 n.14.  
In a footnote the latter author discusses Hogarth's auction of "The Harlots Progress", "The Rakes Progress", and others; and the disappointing result of the sale of four Election pictures by raffle.  
Another reference to the sale of paintings by living artists in Lippincott, Selling Art in Georgian London op. cit., p.116, 184 n.42.  
In 1748 Arthur Pond put part of his own print collection on sale, but most failed to meet their reserve price and were brought in.
243. Lippincott, op. cit., pp. 86, 88, 90, 77-78 (Table 4).  
For reference to Table 4 see B.M., Add. MS 23724 Arthur Pond Journal of Receipts and Expenses 1734-1750, ff. 46-58.
244. Francis Russell, Apollo 'The Pictures of John Fourth Duke of Bedford', op.cit., p. 404.

### NOTES TO CONCLUSIONS

1. Christopher Hill, The Century of Revolution 1603- 1714 (Wokingham, Berks.: Van Nostrand Reinhold (UK) Co. Ltd., 1961, 1980), pp. 137-37, 158-59.

2. Ibid., pp.156-59.  
Hill noted that after 1642, many patrons of the arts found themselves in exile and many were in financial difficulties so that this period saw the rise of independent artists and writers. The new patrons came from a growing middling group, merchants, traders and financiers.  
The findings from the analysis of data in Chapter Four shows that there was a demand for paintings by Dutch artists working in England and abroad, and there had also evidence for a small market for paintings by native British artists which were produced during the Interregnum.

3. Henry V. S. and Margaret Ogden, English Taste in Landscape in the Seventeenth Century (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1955), pp.109-112.

4. This is a reference to J. M. Montias' Artist and Artisans in Delft : A Socio-economic Study of the Seventeenth Century (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), p.330.  
Montias noted that by the 1670s in Holland decoration in people's homes had changed; and the structure of society had also altered since the beginning of 'The Golden Age' in the 1630s and 40s.  
Another reference: D. P. Snoep. 'Classicism and History Painting in the Late Seventeenth Century', Gods, Saints and Heroes : Dutch Painting in the Age of Rembrandt, edited by Albert Blankert et al. (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1980), p. 239; Albert Blankert's 'Introduction' the latter reference, p. 23.

5. Hugh Dunthorne, 'Eighteenth Century English Perceptions of the Landscape and Landscape Painting in the Netherlands', Dutch Crossing: A Journal of Low Countries Studies No. 31, (1987), pp.41-42.  
Dunthorne referred to a letter from Walpole to Robert Trevor, 21 Feb.- 4 March, 7-18 March 1737-38, Historical Manuscripts Commission Fourteenth Report, IX, pp. 12-14.

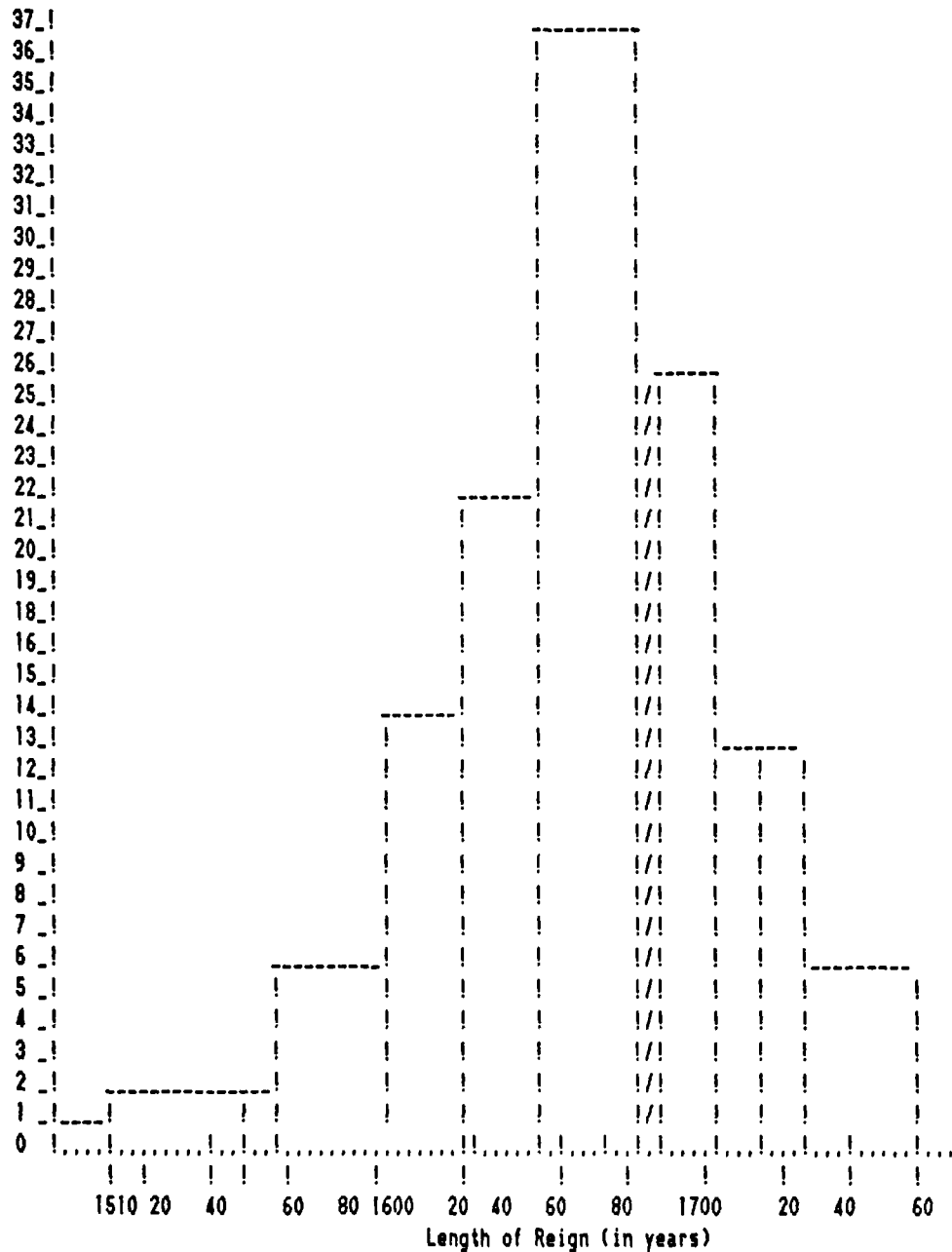
The preface to Thomas Martyn's The English Connoisseur... (London: L.Davis and C. Reymers, 1766), also noted that exemplary collections had a balance of Dutch, Italian, French and native British paintings.

**APPENDIX TO CHAPTER ONE**

A Histogram showing the Number of Dutch Artists  
working in England for each succeeding Monarch.

Source ; B, Buckeridge, The Art of Painting and Lives of the Painters,  
London, 1706,

No of Artists



1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

Legend; 1 Henry VII (1485-1509) 8 Charles II (1649-1685)  
 2 Henry VIII (1509-1547) 9 James II (1685-1688) [ !/! = Unknown number of  
 3 Edward VI (1547-1553) 10 William III (1688-1702) artists ]  
 4 Mary I (1553-1559) 11 Anne (1702-1714)  
 5 Elizabeth I (1559-1603) 12 George I (1714-1727)  
 6 James I (1603-1625) 13 George II (1727-1760)  
 7 Charles I (1625-1649)

**APPENDIX TO CHAPTER TWO**

STATUTES AND ROYAL PROCLAMATIONS.

Appendix A

MSS 6 No.14

Copy of a Petition to the King of the Outropers office asking permission to excercise office outside the City Liberties.  
26th June 1688 (James 11 ).

To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty  
The Humble petition of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen  
of your City of London.

That there is an ancient office in London confirmed by grants of your loyal Ancestors called the Outroper's office, for publick sale of goods, household stuff and all such like things with small fees allowed for performance thereof; which hath for sometime been discontinued and is now seized by private persons for their particular advantage without authority. But the petitioners intend to revive it in hopes ... to raise something thereby towards the poor orphans relief to whom the Chamber of Commerce is indebted.

But the partitioners are apprehensive in that such office in London only without a like authority in the Suburbs or Outparts of the City will be of little Advantage for that the persons now taking upon them to make the said publick sales will ... avoid the city's rights unless yr. (sic.) Majestic shall vouch safe out of your piety and goodness to the poor orphans to grant unto the petitioners or some of them in trust the like office and authority for making sales in the ajacent parts without the City.

See the Order following for the Outcome of this petition.

Appendix B

Journals of the House of Commons

Vol 10, pp 208-209  
I William and Mary  
6th July 1689

Then the Order for the House to resolve into a Committee of the whole House. So proceed further into the consideration of the bill for the Relief of the Orphans of the City of London, was read:

Resolved:

That it is the Opinion of this Committee that the House be moved that the Profits arising by the Outropers Office within the City of London and Liberties thereof, be applied towards the further payment of the Orphans Fund.

Resolved:

That there be a clause brought into the said Bill, to take away the Power of the City of London to compel the Estates of Orphans to be brought into the Chamber of London;...

Appendix C

Journals of the House of Commons, Vol XI

5 William III and Mary      30th November 1693, p.14

A Petition of the Lord Mayor Alderman and Common Council of the City of London was presented to the House and read; setting forth, That by the general and National trouble after the reign of Charles I; by their former payments of great Sums for Interest of the Orphans; by the Great Fire of London; by reason of the late illegal Quo Warrento brought against them, and other great losses; their Debts to the Orphans amount to a sum vastly greater than they are able to pay, without the assistance of this House. That the Petitioners have used their utmost endeavours to raise Monies, and from time to time, have paid the same towards the Relief of the said Orphans; but all the Powers and Estate of the City cannot Satisfy their Debts: And praying the Consideration of the House, in order to a provision to be made for Payment of the Debts due to the Orphans of the Said City.

J.R. Kellett, op. cit. pp. 316-318.

The Outcome was that after 1694 "first Bank of England, then the financed National Debt, took over from the Corporation the function of transmitting the capital available in London to the Central Government".

Appendix D

Guildhall MSS 163.1

Orphans Fund Origins Miscellaneous Papers 1688-98.

Dated:

To the Hon'able Committee (sic) of Parliament unto whom the Orphans Bill is Referred.

The Humble Proposal of Thomas Puckle of London Merchant now in Contract with the City of London for the present manager of Outroper's office; for all Publick Sales made within the said City and Liberties by Outcry, Auction, Candle or Otherwise - sheweth that the said office doing an ancient office belonging to the City Time out of Mind and which for some years hath been neglected. Until received by the present Leave and Brought to a Prospect of some advantage for the Benefit of the Orphans -

If it shall seem meet to the Honourable House of Commons to enlarge the extent of the Cities authority for the execution of the office (So prevent evasions by removing Public Sales out of the City's jurisdiction).

If they shall further please to reduce the Public Companies under the regulations thereof - And also if they shall please to settle the fees thereunto belonging by reducing them to such a moderation, as that none of those companies shall find themselves uneasy under them.

A considerable Revenue (to several thousands per annum) may be made there from towards the Discharge of Orphans debts.

The particular fees established by act of Common Council Ann. 6 Eliz. confirmed by Charter are (viz):



One farthing on the shilling for selling one half penny on the Pound for Registering one shilling for the Cryer all which makes together about 2½ pr cent.

But if the same shall be reduced to forr (sic) lesser fees according to the following method, viz:

All sales within £200. to pay the ancient fees  
from £200 to £500 to pay 2 per cent  
" £500 to £1000 to pay 1½ " "  
" £1000 to £5000 to pay 1 " "  
" £5000 to £10,000 to pay ½ " "  
and £10,000 and upwards but 1/4 per cent.

It may humbly be presumed it will bring in a greater annual advantage than otherwise. But the proposer doing the present lease, humbly prays regards may be had to his present contract that his right therein may be preserved.

#### Appendix E

British Museum Library BL 24/1 (2)

#### Charles II

His Majesties Gracious Declaration for the Encouraging the Subjects of the United Province of the Low-Country's to Transport themselves with their Estates, and to Settle in this His Majesty's Kingdom of England.  
at Whitehall 12th June 1672.

Charles II

Whereas his Majesty was ... pleased in his Declaration of War against the States General of the United Provinces of 17 March, 1671/2, among other things to Declare, that if any of the Low Countries subjects, either out of affection to His Majesty or His Government, or because of Oppression they meet with at home from their Governors, should come into His Kingdom, they should be by His Maj. protected in their person & Estates. His Majesty ... shall decide to deliver themselves from the Calamity and Distress into which the Councils of some prevailing persons in the Gov't of those countries ....

- I For all subjects of the United Provinces of the Low Countries, exceptance of work, or position, if they leave to have the United P. have full leave, Licence, and permission from His Majesty to Transport themselves together with their families, Estates, Goods, and Merchandise to England, on what vessels they see fit without seizure of confiscation.
- II -to have the freedom to settle where they please "So have liberty of conscience as to matter of Religion and worship to enjoy all of the priveleges of the natural born subjects, or not to be liable to Custom or duties except those paid by this Majesty's National born subjects.
- III "That for their greater security in this particular, His Majesty will at the next meeting of Parliament Pass a Bill for Nationalising such persons, their Children and Servants,

and that in the meantime they shall be immediately and without delay made free Denizens of this His Kingdom of England, without their Charge or Trouble".

- IV All such ships, Boats, Busses, and Vessels (belonging) to any persons transporting themselves Shall be held and accounted as English built and shall have and enjoy the same and like Privileges and immunities in matters of Trade, Navigation and Customs ... as if they had been built in England (belonging) to His Majesty's National Born Subjects ... Anyone bringing over ships of war from United Provinces shall receive to their own use one full moiety of the true Value of such Ships their tackle, guns, ammunition & provisions.
- V And for the greater encouragement of all such Seamen, Mariners, Fishermen, Shipwrights, Carpenters and other artificers relating to Shipping and Sea affairs ..... His Majesty is pleased further to add, and accordingly He doth hereby Declare and Promise that all such persons, and every [one] of them shall be and remain free and exempt from any Press.
- VI And lastly, His Majesty doth Declare and Promise that he will from time to time grant His free Passports and Safe Conducts under His Royal Sign Manual for Persons, Families, Ships, Goods and Merchandises of all such as shall thus desire to Transport themselves; and if it be found necessary, will appoint even Convoys to secure them and their Estates in their passage, against whatsoever force, or molestation (and in brief any ship seized on its way to any port of His Majesty's Kingdom and the goods belonging to persons transporting themselves will be released).

Dated. 1672.

#### Appendix F

##### Public Acts

An Act for reverting the Judgement in a Quo Warranto against the City of London, and for restoring the City of London to its ancient Rights and Privileges.

2 William and Mary Ch. 8 (1689)

An Act for Recovering the Judgement in a Quo Warranto against the City of London and for Restoring the City of London to its Ancient Rights and Privileges.

Whereas a judgement was given in the Court of Kings Bench in or about Trinity Terme [sic.] in the 35th year of the reign of Charles II upon an information in the nature of a Quo Warranto, exhibited in the said Court against the Majoy and Commonality and Citizens of the City of London. That the Liberty Privilege and Franchise of the said Mayor etc.... being a Body Politick and Corporate should be seized into the Kings hands as forfeited... such proceedings were illegal and arbitrary.

... And the said Mayor or Commonalitie and Citizens of the said City shall and may as by law they ought peaceably have restored to

them the Rights, Gifts, Charters, Grants, Liberties, Privileges, Franchises, Customs, Usages, Constitutions, Prescriptions, Immunities, Markets, Duties, Tolls, Lands, Tenements, Estates, Hereditaments [sic.] ... which they lawfully had at the time of said Judgement.

All Grants, letters, present, Charters granted by Charles II and James II since the said Judgement, now declared null and void.

#### Appendix G

##### Journals of the House of Commons

1 William and Mary c 13 (1689)

"An Act for raising money by Poll and Otherwise, and towards the relieving of Ireland."

1st William & Mary C.7 (1689)

"An Act for review of the late Poll granted to their Majesties and for an additional poll towards the reducing of Ireland.

2 William & Mary. Session I. C.2 (1690)

An Act for raising money by Poll and otherwise, towards the reducing or Ireland and prosecuting the war against France.

3. William & Mary c. 6 4 & 5 (1691)

An Act for raising money by a Poll payable quarterly for one year, for the carrying on a vigorous war against France (p. 137).

4 & 5 William and Mary C.14 Vol.9 (1692-3)

An Act for review of the Quarterly Poll granted to their Majesties in the last session of the present Parliament.

#### Appendix H

Statutes of the Realm

6-7 William and Mary C.7 (1694)

Printed by Command of His Majesty George III in pursuance of an Address in the House of Commons of Great Britain

Vol. VI (1685-1694) p. 584.

Record Commission 1831.

#### Chapter VII

"An Act for granting to his Majestie [sic.] several additional Duties upon coffee, tea, chocolate and spices. toward satisfaction of the debt for Transport for the reduction of Ireland".

"Whereas for the reducing the Kingdom of Ireland to its due obedience to his Majesty several ships of his Majesties Subjects were hired for transporting forces, ammunition and provisions into the said Kingdom to the several owners of which said ships there is due the sum of three hundred and thirty thousand seven hundred and sixty nine pounds £330,769.10s.7d. principal money as appears by a report made to the House of Commons by the Commissioners appointed by an Act of Parliament made in the Fifth and Sixth year of the reign of King William and Queen Mary entitled An Act for appointing and enabling Commissioners to examine take and state the Publick accompte of the Kingdome. We your Majesties most

dutiful ... subjects the Commons in Parliament assembled being willing that a fund may be raised for the answering and paying to your Majesties said subjects the said and respective owners of the ships interest for their said money from the 1st day of May 1695 for the space of three years after the rate of five pounds for the interest of every hundred pounds for one whole year and soc (sic) proportionately for any greater or lesser sum doe hereby give and grant unto your Majesty the additional and other duties and impositions upon the several sorts of goods and merchandises herein specified which shall be imported unto the Kingdom of England Dominion of Wales or towne of Berwick upon Tweed during such time and in such manner and forme as herein after followeth and doe humbly pray your Majestie that it may be enacted. And be it enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with advice and consent of the Lords. Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in this present Parliament assembled by the authority of the same that there shall be answered and paid to his Majesty his Heires and Successors for the several goods and Merchandize hereafter mentioned where shall be imported into this att any time after 1st day of May 1695 and before the 2nd day of May in the year ... 1698 over and above all duties already payable for the same att, the Custom House the further rates and sums following (that is to say)"

|                               |                        |
|-------------------------------|------------------------|
| Coffee per 100 weight 112 lb. | to 156/- English money |
| Cocoa nut 100 weights         | 56/-                   |
| Chocolate per 1 lb. readymade | 1/-                    |
| Cocoa                         | 2/-                    |
| Tea                           | 1/-                    |
| Tea (from Holland)            | 2/6d. per 1 lb.        |

Nutmeg and spices (cinnamon, cloves mace) £5.00 for every 100 lb.

"For all pictures imported within the time aforesaid whether for private use or sale which are hereby permitted to be imported during the continuance of this Act any Law or Use to the Contrary notwithstanding £20.00 lawful English money for per centum of the Value, to be affirmed by the Oath of the Importer and soe in proportion for any greater or less quantity thereof".

#### Appendix No. I

Statutes-at-Large 5th to 9th year of George I  
8 George I C.20 , 1721, 9.451

"And whereas by several acts of Parliament now in force, several duties are payable upon the importation of pictures: be it

"further enacted by the authority aforesaid that the said duties for all pictures which shall be imported from and after the feast day of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, 1722, shall cease and determine in lieu thereof and successors for all pictures, that from and after the said feast day of Annunciation of the blessed Virgin Mary 1722 shall be imported into Great Britain the certain duties following according to the respective dimensions of such pictures, that is to say:

For every picture of 4' (feet) square or upwards or of any dimension, which being reduced, will produce a square of 4 upwards the sum of three pounds of lawful money of Great Britain.

For every picture of 2' (feet) square and under 4' sq. or of any dimensions which being reduced will produce a square of two feet and under 4', the sum of 40/- of like money.

And for every picture under two feet square, or of any dimension, which being reduced will produce a square less than two feet, the sum of 20/- of like money. Which duties shall be paid down in ready money before the landing of same.

L. And be it exacted by the authority aforesaid, that said duties upon pictures imported, shall be raised, levied, recovered and paid, and be brought into the exchequer by such rules, ways, means, methods and under such penalties and forfeitures and in such manner and form as the duties upon pictures hereby taken away, or any of them, might have been raised, levied, recovered and paid, if the same or any of them had continued.

And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the said duties upon pictures imported shall be raised, levied, recovered and paid, and be brought into the exchequer, by such rules, ways, means and methods and under such penalties and forfeitures and in such manner and form as the duties upon pictures hereby taken away or any of them might have been raised, levied, recovered and paid, if the same or any of them continued.

LI. Provided always and it is hereby enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the duties to arise upon the importation of pictures pursuant to this act (the necessary Charges of management excepted) shall be appropriated and applied as near as may be to the same uses and purposes to which the former duties upon pictures by this act taken away were applicable or ought to have been applied if this act had not been made.

LII. Provided also, and it is hereby enacted, that the duties by this act charged upon pictures imported or any part thereof, shall be redeemable by Parliament in the same manner as the said former duties on pictures hereby taken away, or any of them, were redeemable and in all cases where any of the said former duties on pictures were to cease or determine a proportional part of the duties on pictures hereby charged, shall likewise cease and determine.

Cap VII (1724)

II G. I C.7

Statutes at Large

9th year of King George I to the 2nd year of King George II

Vol XV (1765) pp. 182-189

VII

An Act for raising such unrated goods and merchandizes as are usually imported into this Kingdom and pay a duty ad valorem upon oath of importer - and for ascertaining the value of all goods and merchandizes not inserted in the former or present book of rates and for repeating certain duties upon drugs and rags, and for

continuing duty upon applied and for ascertaining the method of measuring pictures imported.

XII

"And whereas by an act of Parliament made and passed in the 8th year of his Majesty's reign, it is (amongst other things) enacted, That from and after the feast day of the annunciation of ... Virgin Mary 1722, there shall be paid or payable to his Majesty his heirs and successors for all pictures which shall be imported into Britain, the certain duties following according to the respective dimensions of such pictures, that is to say, for every picture 4' sq or upwards or of any dimensions which being reduced will produce a square of four feet or upwards, the sum of 3 pounds: for every picture of two feet sq. and under 4' sq. the sum of 40 shillings and for every picture under 2' sq. the sum of 20 shillings: and whereas some doubts have arisen as to the reducing pictures to the said several squares of 4' and 2': for obviating and preventing such doubts in the future, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid that all pictures, which from and after the five and twentieth day of March one thousand seven hundred and twenty-five shall be imported into Great Britain shall be measured and reduced to superficial measure, that is to say every picture, which being reduced will produce a square of 4 feet upwards, shall be a picture that shall contain 16 superficial feet or upwards and shall pay the said sum of three pounds: every picture 2' sq. and under 4' sq. shall, when reduced, produce 4 superficial feet or upwards, and under 16 superficial feet and shall pay the sum of 40 shillings: and every picture under two feet sq., shall be a picture which, when reduced, shall produce less than 4 superficial feet, and shall pay the sum of twenty shillings, anything in the said act of the eighth year of his Majesty's reign, or any other law, usage or custom to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding.

**APPENDICES TO CHAPTER THREE**

**APPENDIX A**

**Table 1. Wages and Standard of Living.**

**Table 2. Prices.**



Table 1. Wages and the Standard of Living 2. Indices of Wages of Labourers in London and Lancashire—1700-1796

NOTES

[1] SOURCE: Elizabeth W. Gilboy, 'The Cost of Living and Real Wages in Eighteenth Century England', *Review of Economic Statistics* (1936).

[2] The years referred to are those beginning at Michaelmas.

[3] The cost-of-living index is derived mainly from contract

prices, and must be regarded as very rough. It relates principally to London and southern England, but was nevertheless used to estimate Lancashire real wages.

[4] All wage indices relate to the weekly wages of men in full employment.

|      | (1700 = 100)   |              |      |                  |      |
|------|----------------|--------------|------|------------------|------|
|      | Cost of Living | London Wages |      | Lancashire Wages |      |
|      |                | Money        | Real | Money            | Real |
| 1700 | 100            | 100          | 100  | 100              | 100  |
| 1701 | 100            | 99           | 99   | 95               | 95   |
| 1702 | 91             | 99           | 109  | 89               | 98   |
| 1703 | 99             | 109          | 110  | 89               | 90   |
| 1704 | 88             | 114          | 130  | 89               | 101  |
| 1705 | 95             | 109          | 115  | 105              | 111  |
| 1706 | 86             | 109          | 127  | 105              | 122  |
| 1707 | 94             | 109          | 116  | 105              | 112  |
| 1708 | 116            | 109          | 94   | 105              | 90   |
| 1709 | 135            | 111          | 82   | 89               | 66   |
| 1710 | 147            | 109          | 74   | 105              | 71   |
| 1711 | 104            | 110          | 106  | 105              | 101  |
| 1712 | 98             | 110          | 112  | 105              | 107  |
| 1713 | 108            | 110          | 102  | 100              | 93   |
| 1714 | 105            | 109          | 104  | 111              | 106  |
| 1715 | 100            | 109          | 109  | 111              | 111  |
| 1716 | 92             | 109          | 118  | 111              | 121  |
| 1717 | 92             | 109          | 118  | 89               | 97   |
| 1718 | 92             | 109          | 118  | 111              | 131  |
| 1719 | 106            | 109          | 103  | 111              | 105  |
| 1720 | 102            | 110          | 108  | 133              | 130  |
| 1721 | 91             | 110          | 121  | 123              | 135  |
| 1722 | 86             | 110          | 128  | 123              | 143  |
| 1723 | 97             | 110          | 113  | 123              | 127  |
| 1724 | 99             | 110          | 111  | 123              | 124  |
| 1725 | 105            | 110          | 105  | 111              | 106  |
| 1726 | 100            | 110          | 110  | 111              | 111  |
| 1727 | 106            | 110          | 104  | 133              | 126  |
| 1728 | 112            | 105          | 94   | 111              | 99   |
| 1729 | 102            | 110          | 108  | 133              | 132  |
| 1730 | 89             | 109          | 122  | 133              | 149  |
| 1731 | 88             | 111          | 130  | 123              | 140  |
| 1732 | 81             | 114          | 141  | 133              | 161  |
| 1733 | 89             | 114          | 128  | 133              | 149  |
| 1734 | 91             | 114          | 125  | 133              | 146  |
| 1735 | 88             | 118          | 134  | 133              | 151  |
| 1736 | 93             | 116          | 125  | 133              | 143  |
| 1737 | 94             | 118          | 126  | 133              | 141  |
| 1738 | 91             | 116          | 127  | 133              | 146  |
| 1739 | 109            | 118          | 108  | 133              | 122  |
| 1740 | 119            | 116          | 97   | 133              | 112  |
| 1741 | 103            | 116          | 113  | 133              | 120  |
| 1742 | 98             | 118          | 120  | 133              | 136  |
| 1743 | 82             | 115          | 140  | 133              | 162  |
| 1744 | 83             | 118          | 142  | 133              | 160  |

cont....

### Wages and the Standard of Living 2.

|      | Cost of Living | London Wages |      | Lancashire Wages |      |
|------|----------------|--------------|------|------------------|------|
|      |                | Money        | Real | Money            | Real |
| 1745 | 94             | 118          | 126  | 133              | 141  |
| 1746 | 92             | 118          | 128  | 128              | 139  |
| 1747 | 95             | 118          | 124  | 128              | 135  |
| 1748 | 100            | 118          | 118  | 133              | 133  |
| 1749 | 98             | 118          | 120  | 133              | 136  |
| 1750 | 93             | 120          | 129  | 133              | 143  |
| 1751 | 98             | 118          | 120  | 133              | 136  |
| 1752 | 94             | 118          | 126  | 133              | 141  |
| 1753 | 95             | 118          | 124  | 133              | 140  |
| 1754 | 92             | 118          | 128  | 133              | 145  |
| 1755 | 98             | 118          | 120  | 133              | 136  |
| 1756 | 125            | 118          | 94   | 133              | 106  |
| 1757 | 118            | 118          | 100  | 111              | 94   |
| 1758 | 108            | 118          | 109  | 111              | 103  |
| 1759 | 99             | 118          | 119  | 133              | 134  |
| 1760 | 97             | 118          | 122  | 123              | 127  |
| 1761 | 99             | 118          | 119  | 123              | 124  |
| 1762 | 109            | 118          | 108  | 123              | 113  |
| 1763 | 110            | 121          | 110  | 177              | 161  |
| 1764 | 115            | 121          | 105  | 156              | 136  |
| 1765 | 117            | 121          | 103  | 156              | 133  |
| 1766 | 124            | 121          | 98   | 156              | 126  |
| 1767 | 123            | 121          | 98   | 156              | 127  |
| 1768 | 109            | 121          | 111  | 200              | 183  |
| 1769 | 108            | 121          | 112  | 200              | 185  |
| 1770 | 118            | 121          | 103  | 200              | 169  |
| 1771 | 130            | 121          | 93   | 177              | 136  |
| 1772 | 136            | 121          | 89   | 200              | 147  |
| 1773 | 131            | 121          | 92   | 200              | 153  |
| 1774 | 129            | 121          | 94   | 200              | 155  |
| 1775 | 128            | 118          | 92   | 200              | 156  |
| 1776 | 120            | 118          | 98   | 200              | 167  |
| 1777 | 131            | 118          | 90   | 200              | 153  |
| 1778 | 123            | 118          | 96   | 200              | 163  |
| 1779 | 117            | 123          | 105  | 200              | 171  |
| 1780 | 125            | 123          | 98   | 200              | 160  |
| 1781 | 125            | 123          | 98   | 200              | 160  |
| 1782 | 144            | 123          | 85   | 211              | 147  |
| 1783 | 139            | 123          | 88   | 200              | 144  |
| 1784 | 129            | 123          | 95   | 189              | 146  |
| 1785 | 132            | 123          | 93   | 205              | 155  |
| 1786 | 128            | 123          | 96   | 223              | 174  |
| 1787 | 130            | 123          | 95   | 211              | 162  |
| 1788 | 127            | ...          | ...  | 228              | 180  |
| 1789 | 134            | ...          | ...  | 228              | 170  |
| 1790 | 133            | ...          | ...  | 233              | 175  |
| 1791 | 131            | ...          | ...  | 223              | 170  |
| 1792 | 140            | ...          | ...  | 200              | 153  |
| 1793 | 148            | ...          | ...  | 267              | 180  |
| 1794 | 168            | ...          | ...  | 233              | 133  |
| 1795 | 179            | ...          | ...  | 233              | ...  |
| 1796 | 153            | ...          | ...  | 233              | ...  |

Table taken from: B. C. Mitchell, Abstract of British Historical Statistics (Cambridge, 1962) pp. 346-347.

Table 2. Prices.

| Year             | Consumers' goods | Consumers' goods other than cereals | Producers' goods | Wheat prices (shillings per quarter) | Bread prices: London (pence per 4 lb. loaf) |
|------------------|------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------|--------------------------------------|---|
| 1700-1704        | 101              | 101                                 | 102              | 29.80                                | 4.8   |
| 1705-9           | 95               | 92                                  | 98               | 38.02                                | 5.7   |
| 1710-14          | 112              | 105                                 | 100              | 40.21                                | 5.7   |
| 1715-19          | 98               | 97                                  | 90               | 34.64                                | 4.9   |
| 1720-24          | 95               | 94                                  | 89               | 30.05                                | 4.8   |
| 1725-9           | 100              | 94                                  | 93               | 37.29                                | 5.7   |
| 1730-34          | 89               | 88                                  | 91               | 25.68                                | 4.5   |
| 1735-9           | 90               | 86                                  | 83               | 29.79                                | 5.3   |
| 1740-44          | 97               | 91                                  | 94               | 26.81                                | 4.6   |
| 1745-9           | 92               | 92                                  | 88               | 27.32                                | 4.9   |
| 1750-54          | 92               | 87                                  | 85               | 31.25                                | 5.1   |
| 1755-9           | 100              | 92                                  | 96               | 36.54                                | 5.6   |
| 1760-64          | 98               | 93                                  | 102              | 32.95                                | 4.9   |
| 1765-9           | 106              | 94                                  | 97               | 43.43                                | 6.6   |
| 1770-74          | 112              | 99                                  | 97               | 50.20                                | 6.8   |
| 1775-9           | 113              | 101                                 | 103              | 42.80                                | 6.3   |
| 1780-84          | 119              | 108                                 | 114              | 47.32                                | 6.7   |
| 1785-9           | 119              | 108                                 | 110              | 44.92                                | 6.1   |
| 1790-94          | 126              | 114                                 | 114              | 49.57                                | 6.6   |
| 1795-9           | 151              | 134                                 | 132              | 65.67                                | 8.8   |
| 1800-1804        | 186              | 156                                 | 153              | 84.85                                | 11.7  |
| index 1701 = 100 |                  |                                     |                  |                                      |   |

Reproduced with permission from P. Mathias, *The First Industrial Nation* (Methuen, London, 1969).

Source: Roy Porter, English Society in the Eighteenth Century (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., 1982), p.392.

**APPENDIX B**

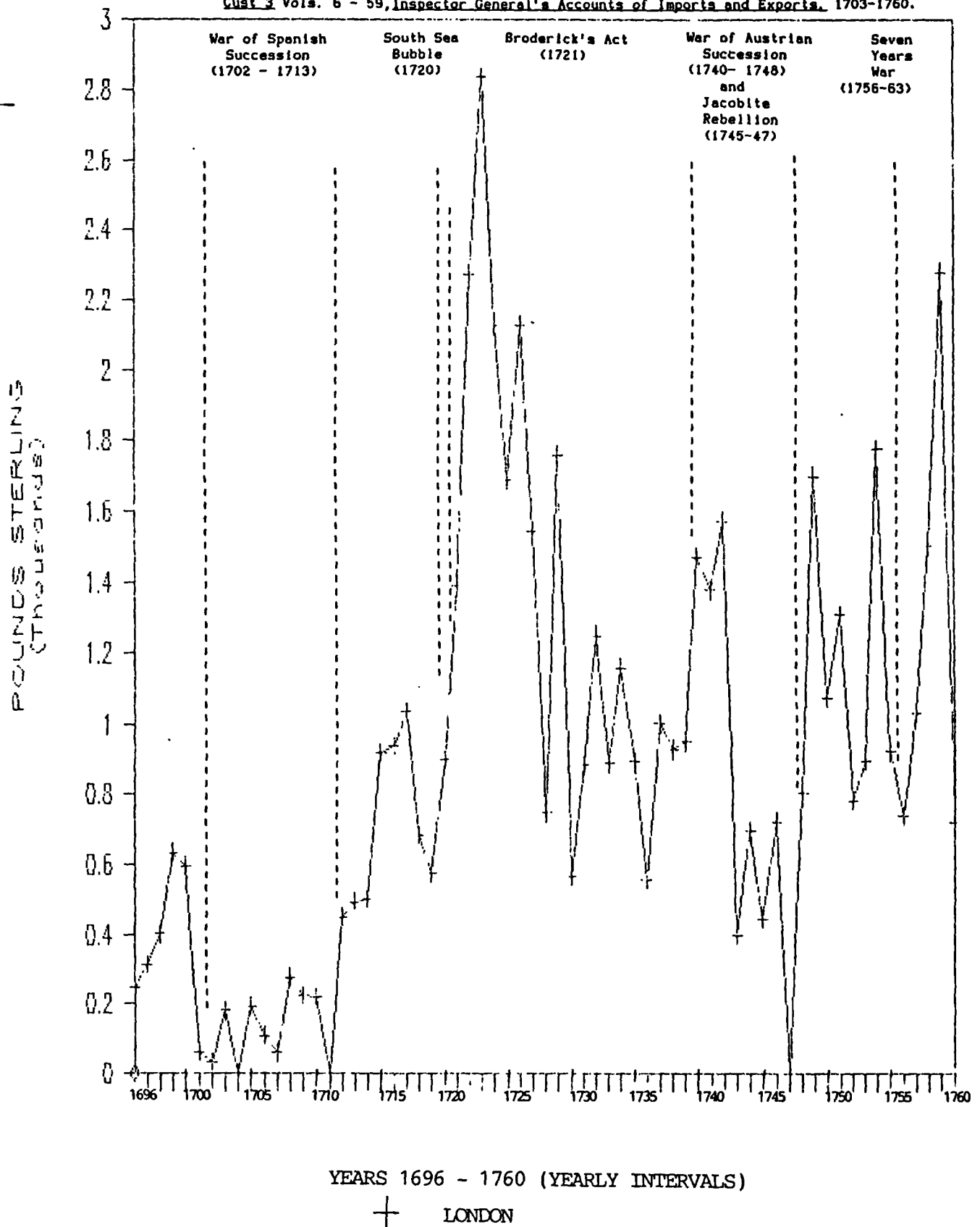
**TOTAL IMPORTS OF PAINTINGS INTO LONDON  
1697-1760**

(For Holland, Italy, Venice, France, Flanders, Germany, and Spain)

TABLE 1

TOTAL IMPORTATION OF PAINTINGS INTO LONDON  
From Holland, Italy, Venice, France, Flanders, Germany and Spain  
1696 - 1760

Source: London Public Record Office, Cust 2 Vols. 1-10,  
Inspector General's Accounts of Imports and Exports, 1696-1702;  
Cust 3 Vols. 6 - 59, Inspector General's Accounts of Imports and Exports, 1703-1760.



APPENDIX C

TOTAL IMPORTS OF PAINTINGS INTO OUTPORTS  
(Excluding London)

1697-1760

TABLE 1 A

**TOTAL IMPORTATION OF PAINTINGS INTO OUTPORTS (EXCLUDING LONDON)**  
From Holland, Italy, Venice, France, Flanders, Germany and Spain  
1696 - 1760

Source: London Public Record Office Cust 2 Vols. 1-10,  
Inspector General's Accounts of Imports and Exports, 1696-1702;  
Cust 3 Vols. 6 - 59, 1703-1760.

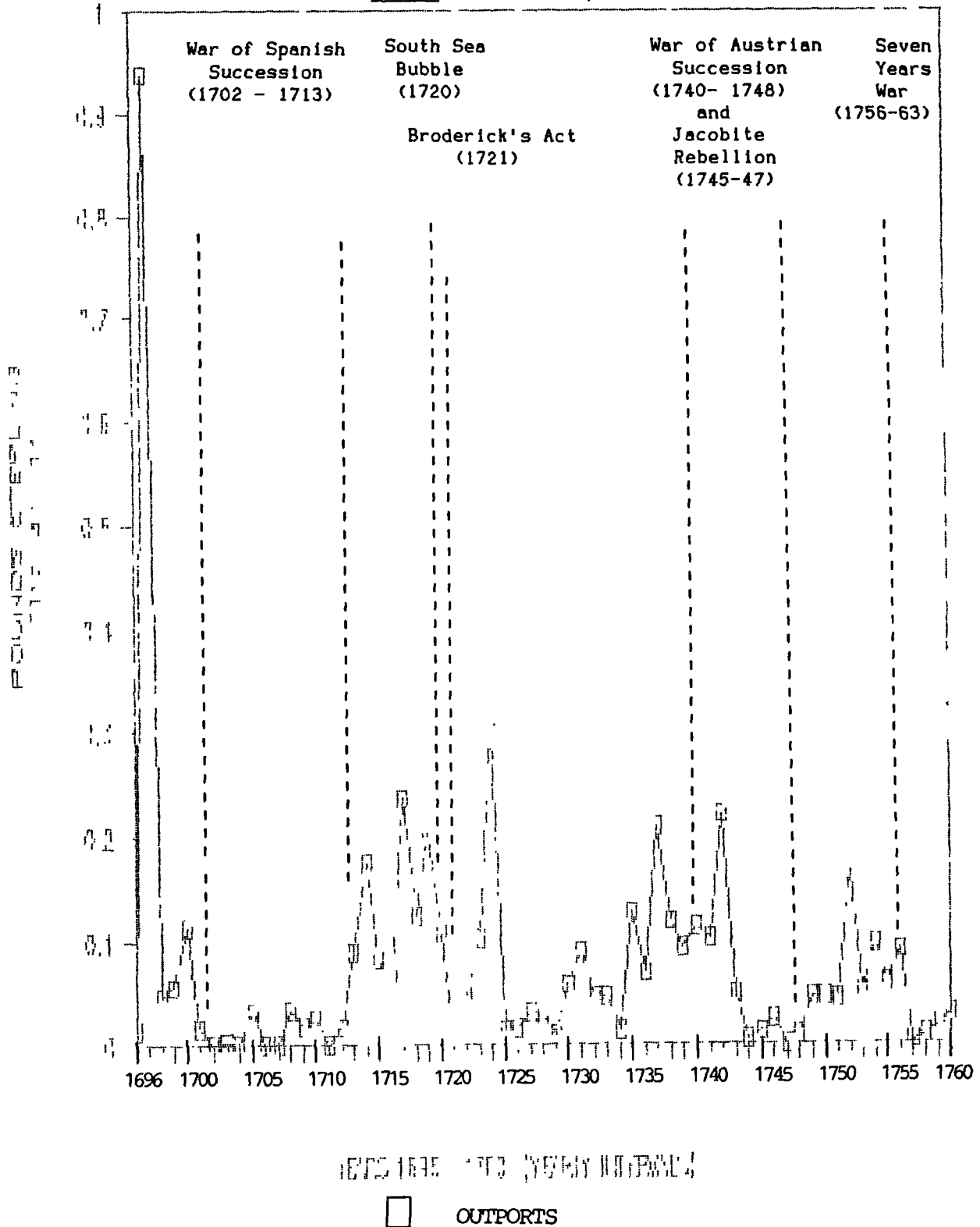
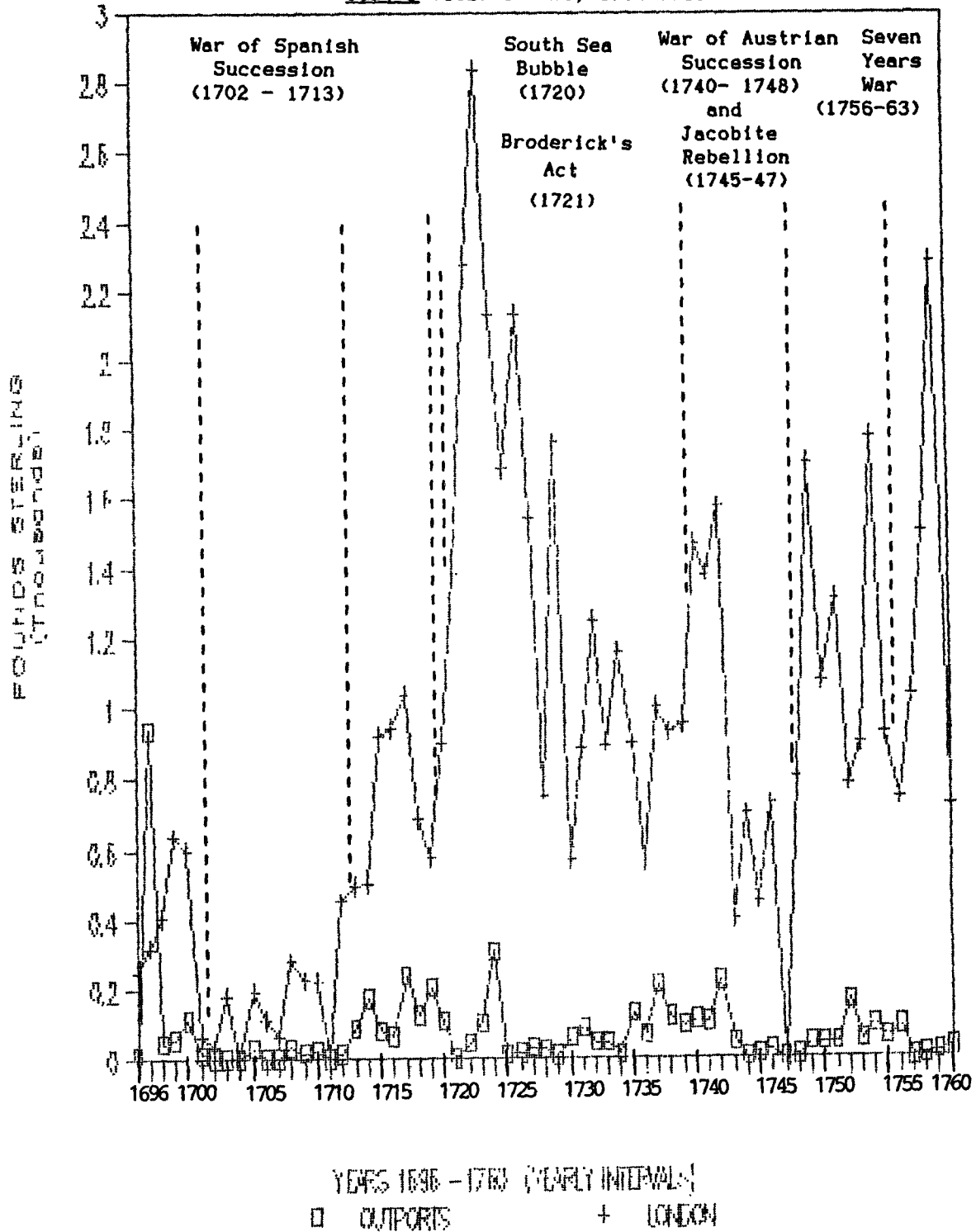


TABLE 1 B

**TOTAL IMPORTATION OF PAINTINGS INTO OUTPORTS (EXCLUDING LONDON)  
COMPARED TO TOTAL IMPORTS OF PAINTINGS INTO LONDON (TABLE 1)  
1696 - 1760**

Source: London Public Record Office Cust 2 Vols. 1-10,  
Inspector General's Accounts of Imports and Exports, 1696-1702;  
Cust 3 Vols. 6 - 59, 1703-1760.





**APPENDIX D.**

**TOTAL IMPORTS OF PAINTINGS TO LONDON  
1697-1760**

**For each Country represented in the Samples.**

TABLE 2

THE IMPORTATION OF PAINTINGS INTO LONDON FROM HOLLAND  
1696 - 1760

Source: London Public Record Office, Cust 2 Vols. 1-10, Inspector General's Accounts of Imports and Exports, 1696-1702;  
Cust 3 Vols. 6 - 59 Inspector General's Accounts of Imports and Exports, 1703-1760.

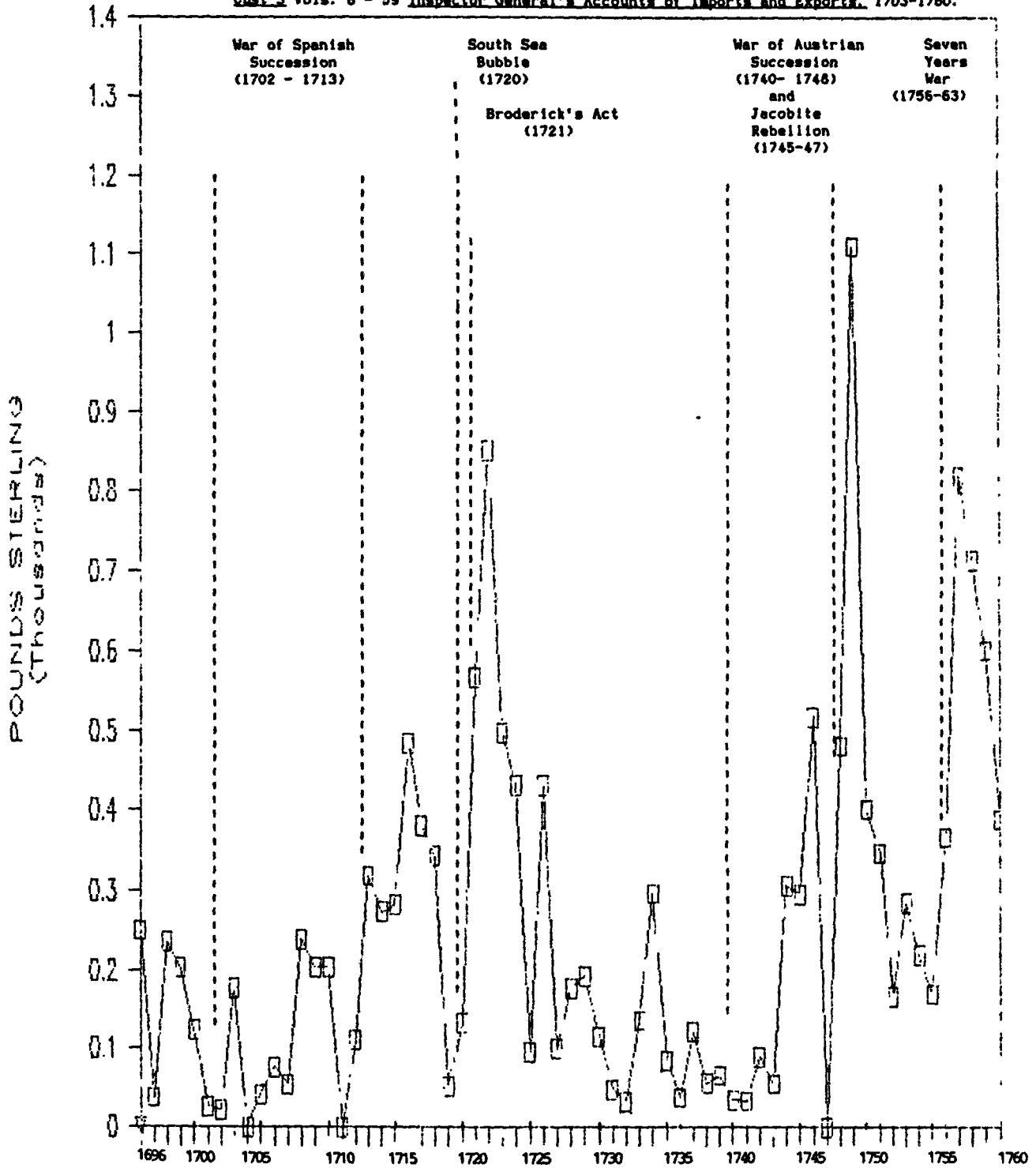


TABLE 3

THE IMPORTATION OF PAINTINGS INTO LONDON FROM ITALY  
1696 - 1760

Source: London Public Record Office Cust 2 Vols. 1-10, Inspector General's Accounts of Imports and Exports, 1696-1702;  
Cust 3 Vols. 6 - 59 Inspector General's Accounts of Imports and Exports, 1703-1760.

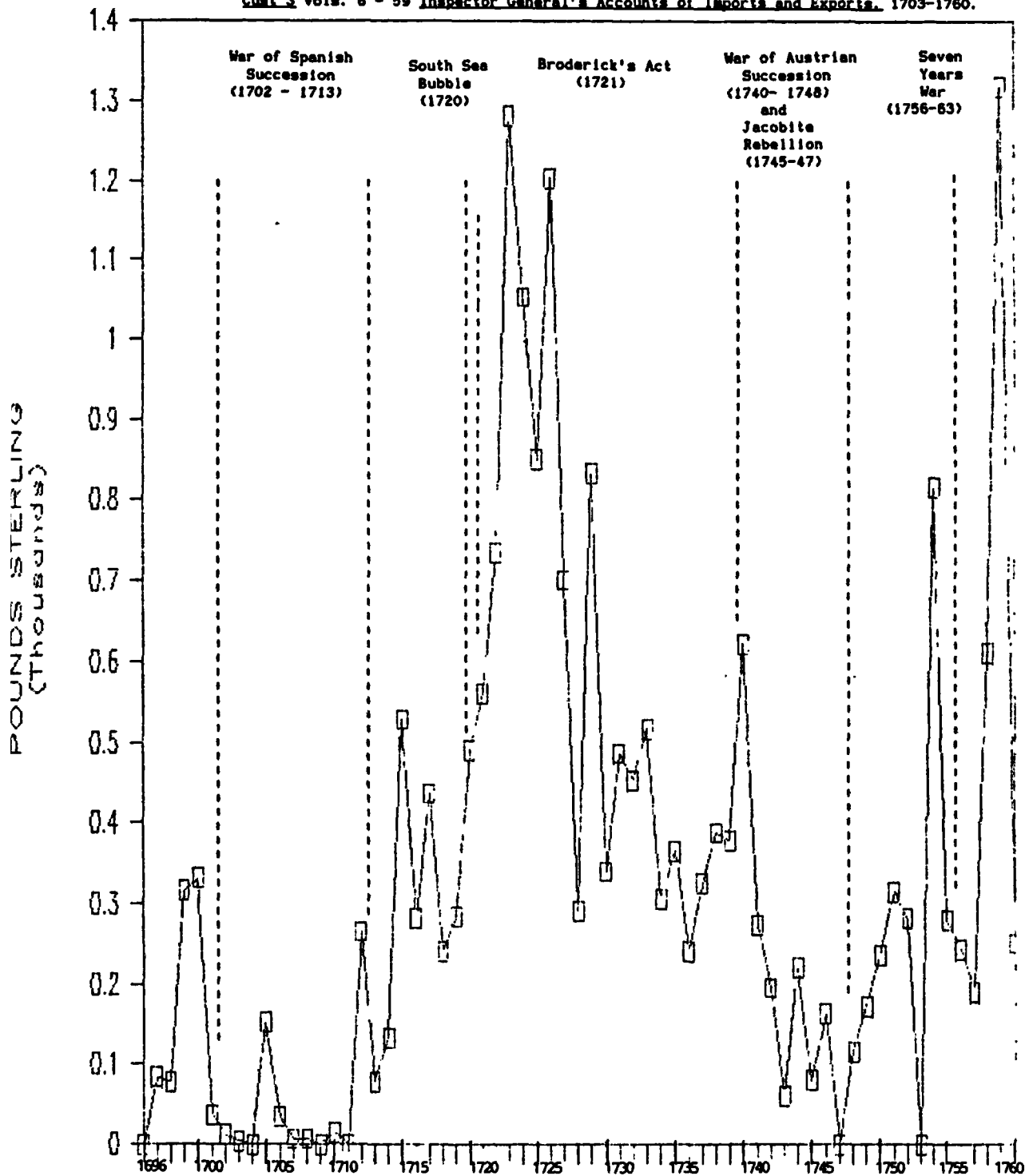


TABLE 4

THE IMPORTATION OF PAINTINGS INTO LONDON FROM VENICE  
1696 - 1760

Source: London Public Record Office Cust 2 Vols. 1-10, Inspector General's Accounts of Imports and Exports, 1696-1702;  
Cust 3 Vols. 6 - 59 Inspector General's Accounts of Imports and Exports, 1703-1760.

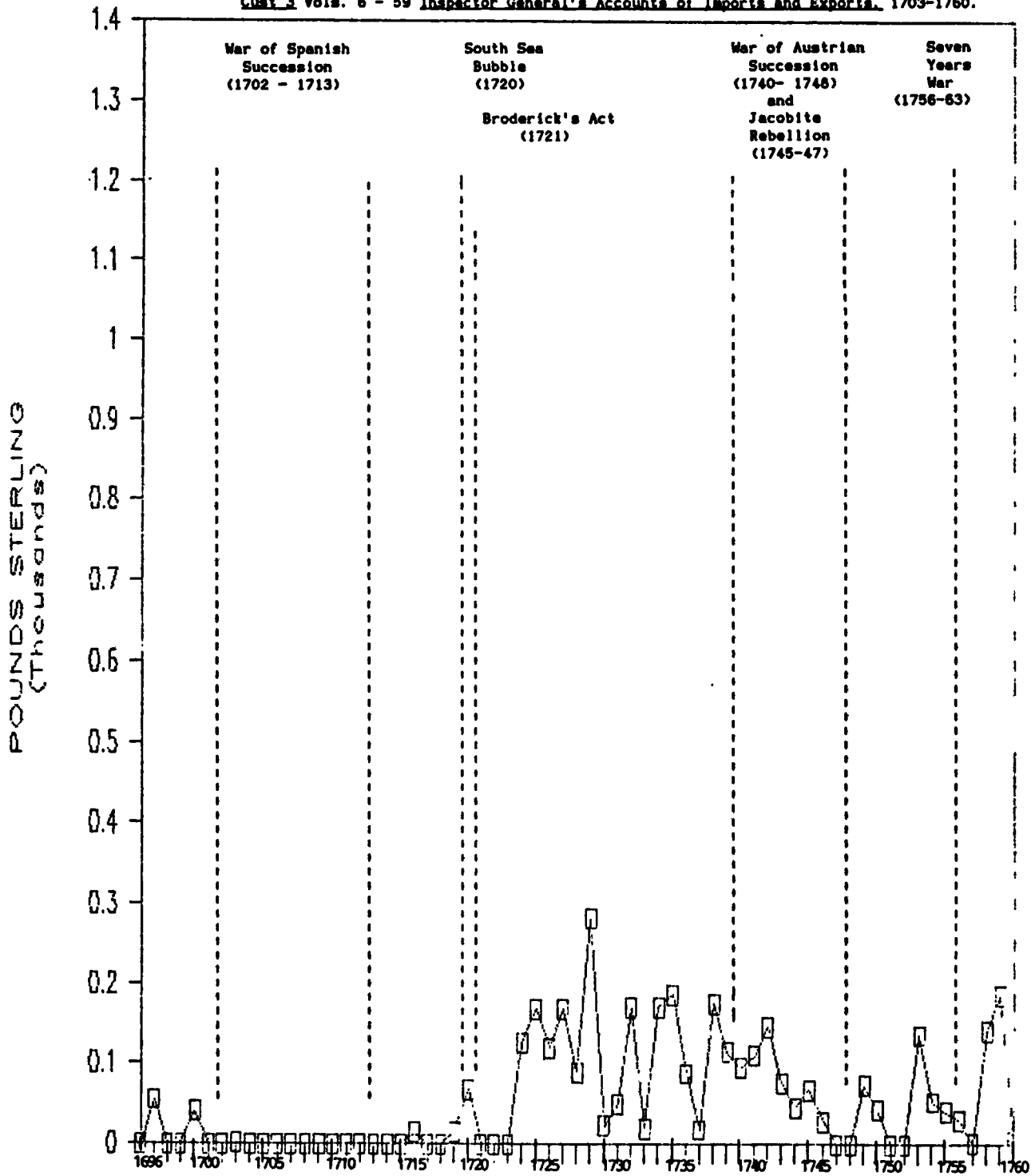


TABLE 5

THE IMPORTATION OF PAINTINGS INTO LONDON FROM FRANCE  
1696 - 1760

Source: London Public Record Office, Cust 2 Vols. 1-10, Inspector General's Accounts of Imports and Exports, 1696-1702;  
Cust 3 Vols. 6 - 59 Inspector General's Accounts of Imports and Exports, 1703-1760.

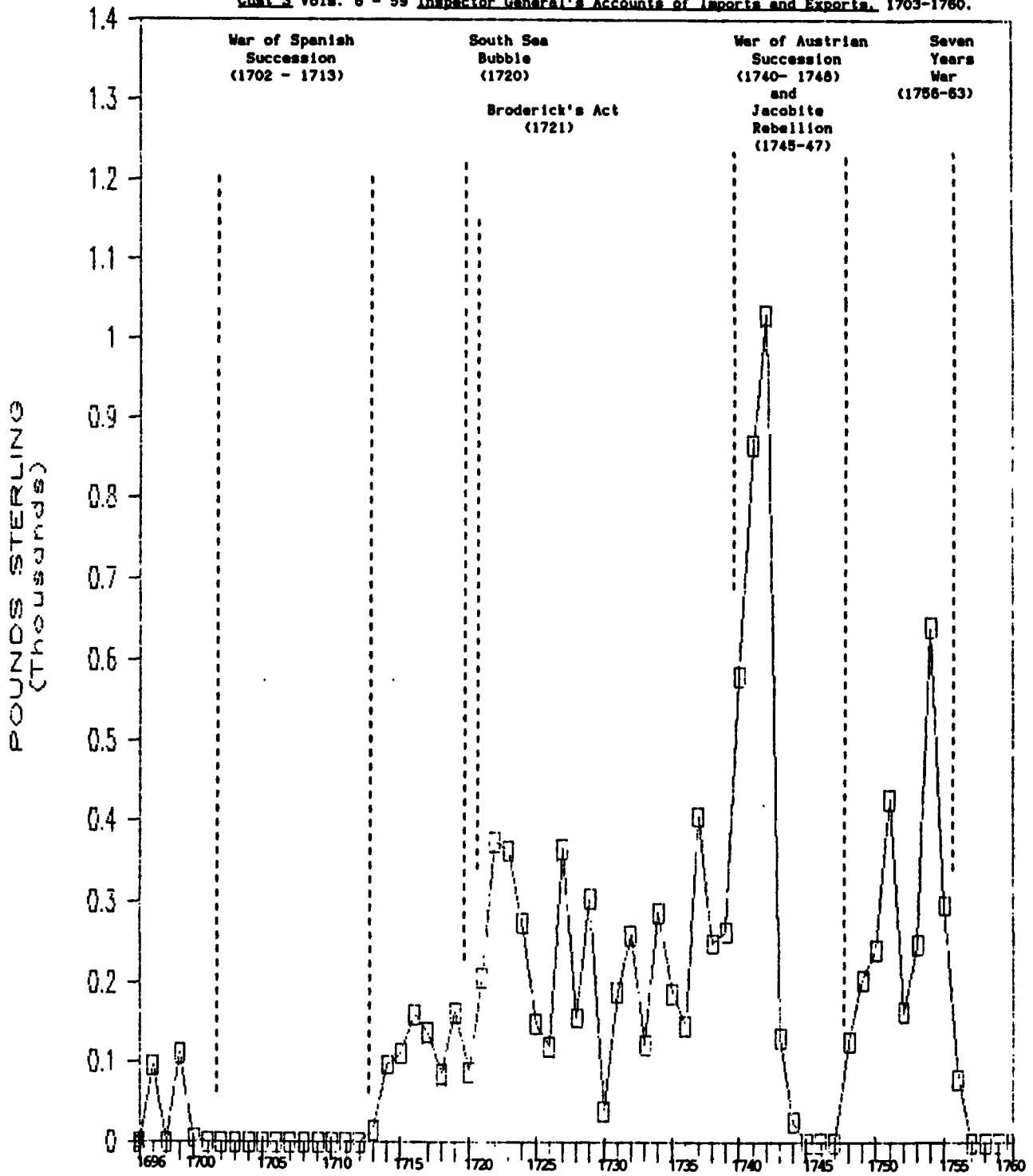


TABLE 6

THE IMPORTATION OF PAINTINGS INTO LONDON FROM FLANDERS  
1696 - 1760

Source: London Public Record Office Cust 2 Vols. 1-10, Inspector General's Accounts of Imports and Exports, 1696-1702;  
Cust 3 Vols. 6 - 59 Inspector General's Accounts of Imports and Exports, 1703-1760.

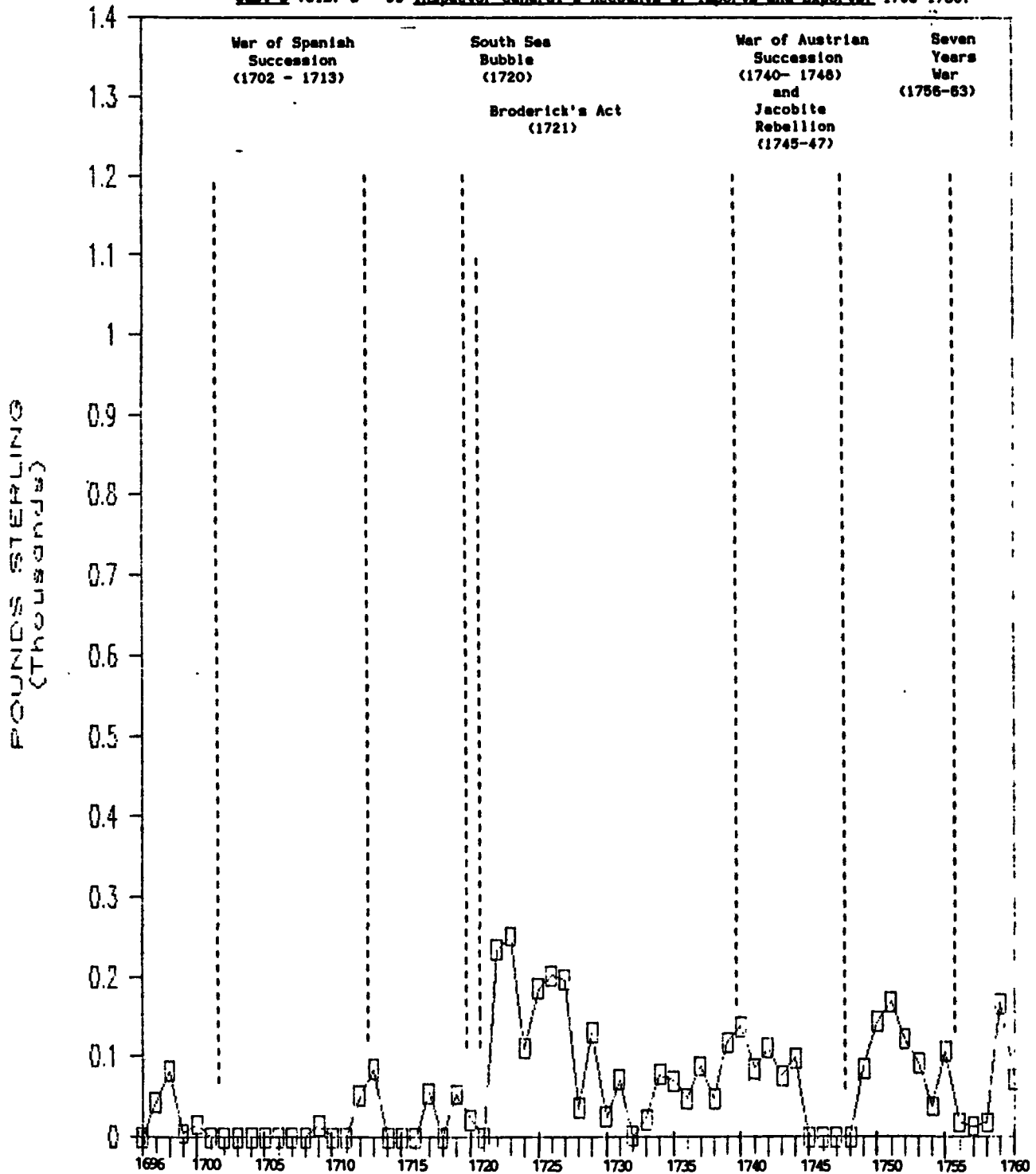


TABLE 7

THE IMPORTATION OF PAINTINGS INTO LONDON FROM GERMANY  
1696 - 1760

Source: London Public Record Office Cust 2 Vols. 1-10, Inspector General's Accounts of Imports and Exports, 1696-1702;  
Cust 3 Vols. 6 - 59 Inspector General's Accounts of Imports and Exports, 1703-1760.

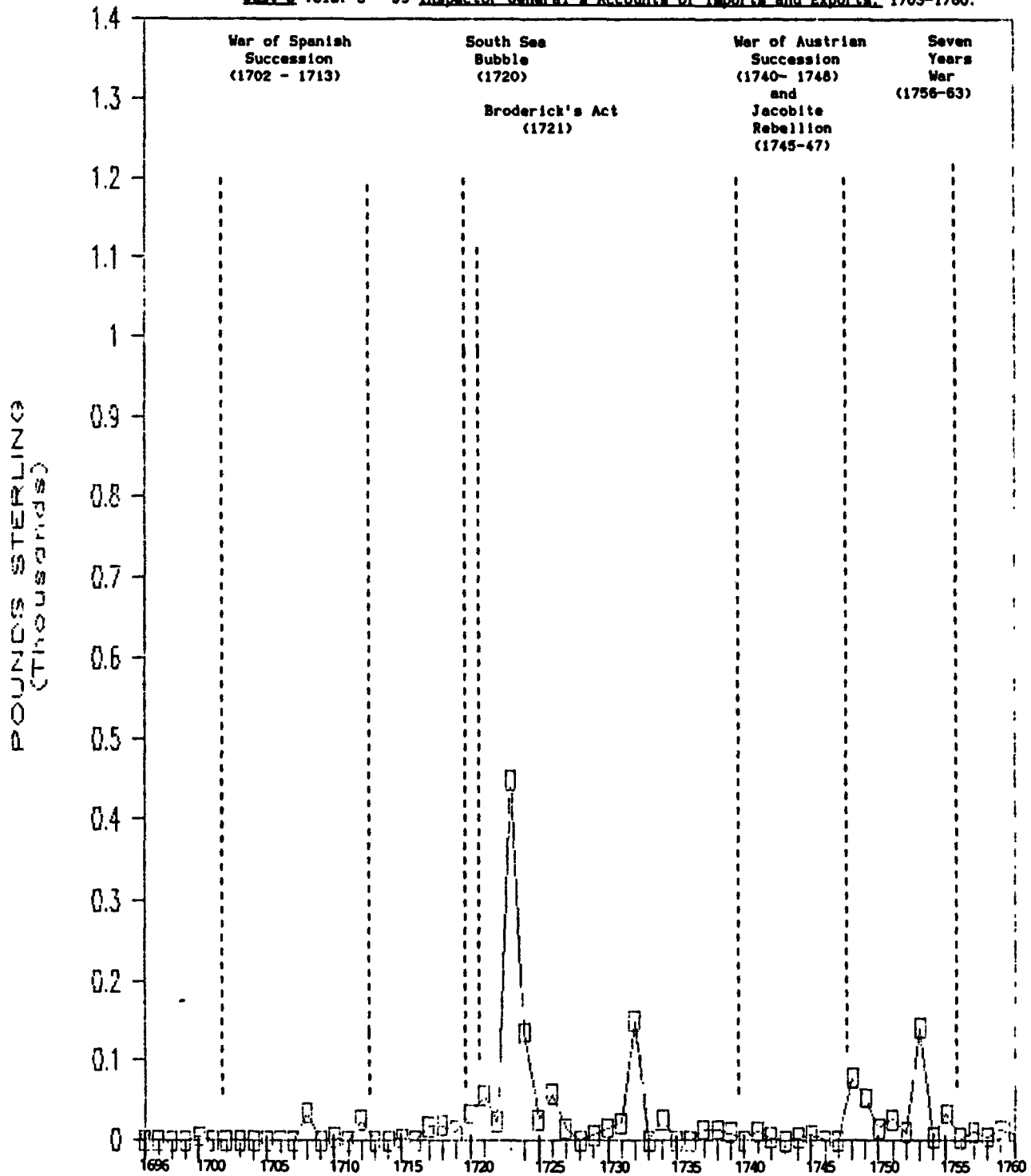
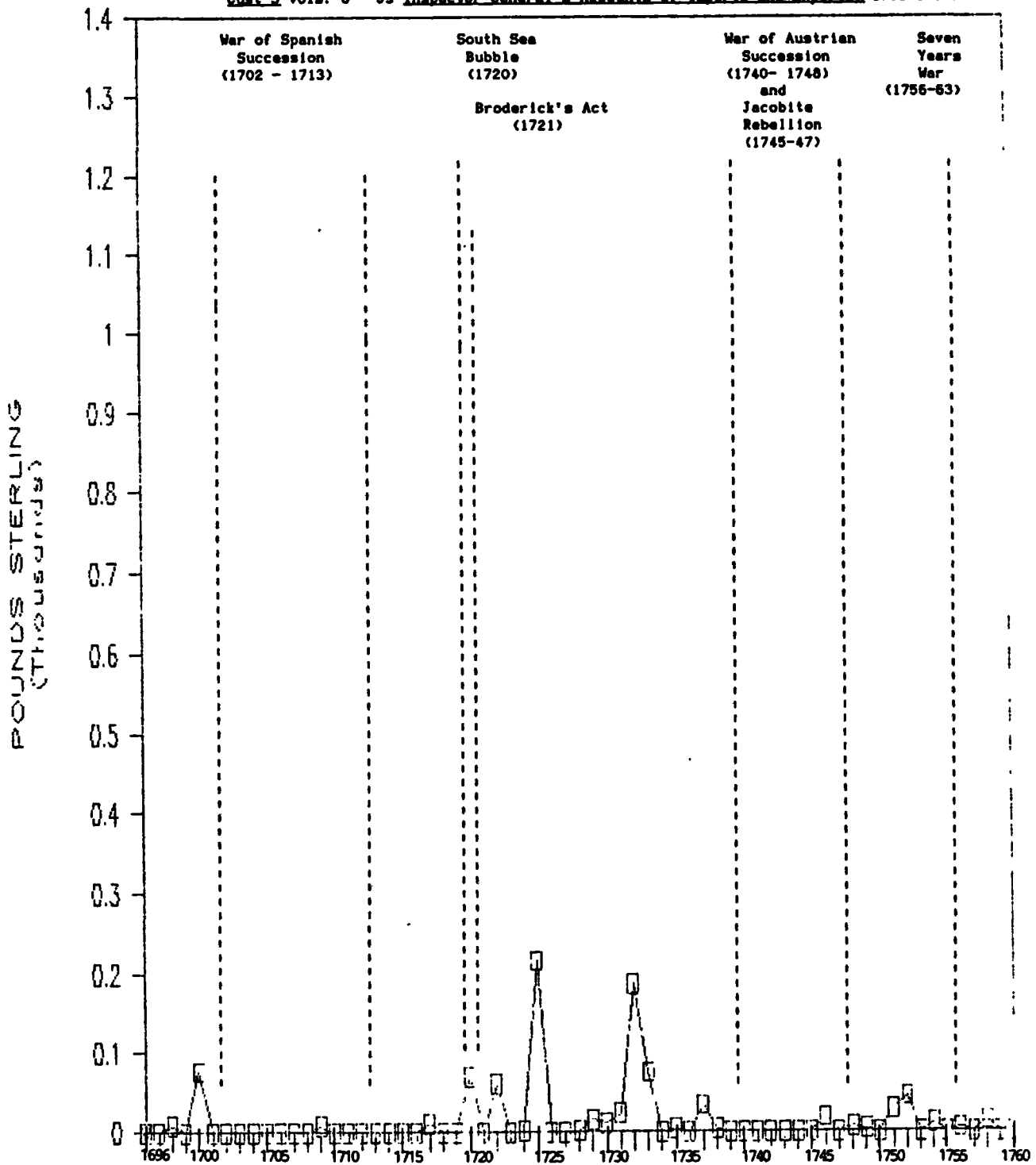


TABLE 8

THE IMPORTATION OF PAINTINGS INTO LONDON FROM SPAIN  
1696 - 1760

Source: London Public Record Office Cust 2 Vols. 1-10, Inspector General's Accounts of Imports and Exports, 1696-1702;  
Cust 3 Vols. 6 - 59 Inspector General's Accounts of Imports and Exports, 1703-1760.





APPENDIX E

TOTAL IMPORTS OF PAINTINGS TO LONDON  
1697-1760

A Comparison of Imports for each country with the Total.

TABLE 9

THE IMPORTATION OF PAINTINGS INTO LONDON FROM HOLLAND  
1696 - 1760  
COMPARED WITH TOTAL IMPORTS OF PAINTINGS  
(As shown in Table 1)

Source: London Public Record Office Cust 2 Vols. 1-10, Inspector General's Accounts of Imports and Exports, 1696-1702;  
Cust 3 Vols. 6 - 59 Inspector General's Accounts of Imports and Exports, 1703-1760.

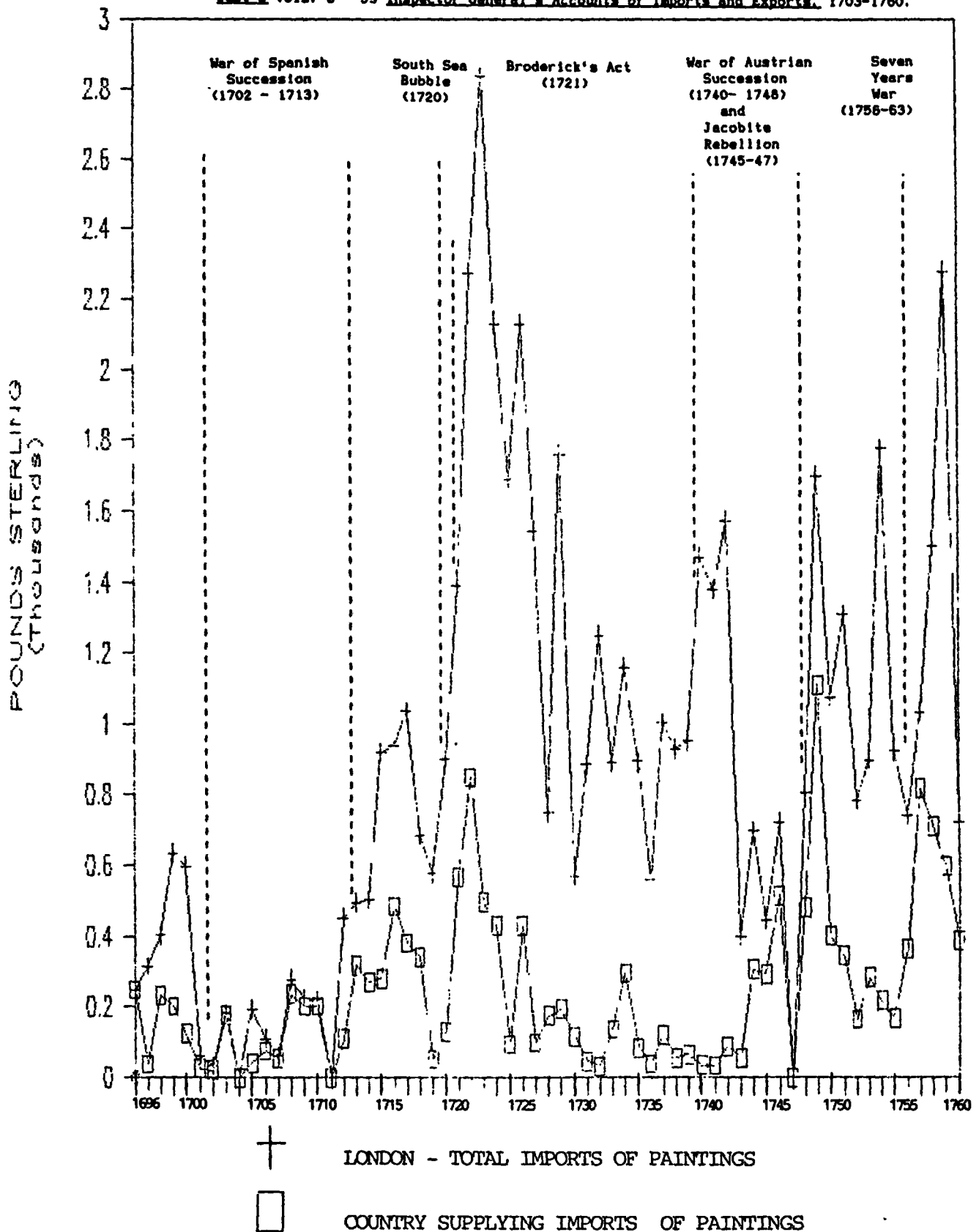


TABLE 10

THE IMPORTATION OF PAINTINGS INTO LONDON FROM ITALY  
1696 - 1760  
COMPARED WITH TOTAL IMPORTS OF PAINTINGS  
(As shown in Table 1)

Source: London Public Record Office, Cust 2 Vols. 1-10, Inspector General's Accounts of Imports and Exports, 1696-1702;  
Cust 3 Vols. 6 - 59 Inspector General's Accounts of Imports and Exports, 1703-1760.

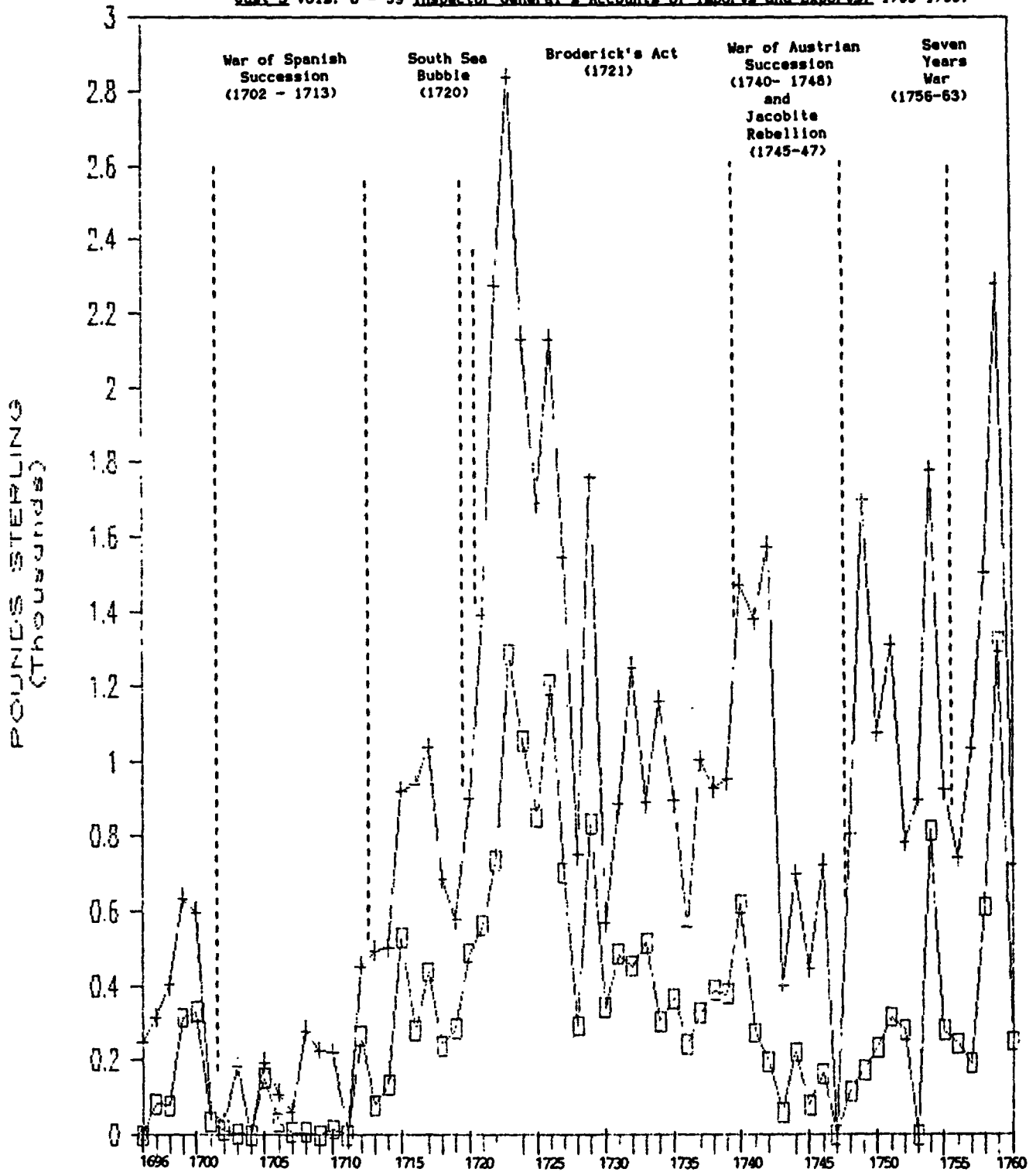


TABLE 11

THE IMPORTATION OF PAINTINGS INTO LONDON FROM VENICE  
1696 - 1760  
COMPARED WITH TOTAL IMPORTS OF PAINTINGS  
(As shown in Table 1)

Source: London Public Record Office Cust 2 Vols. 1-10,  
Inspector General's Accounts of Imports and Exports, 1696-1702;  
Cust 3 Vols. 6 - 59 Inspector General's Accounts of Imports and Exports, 1703-1760.

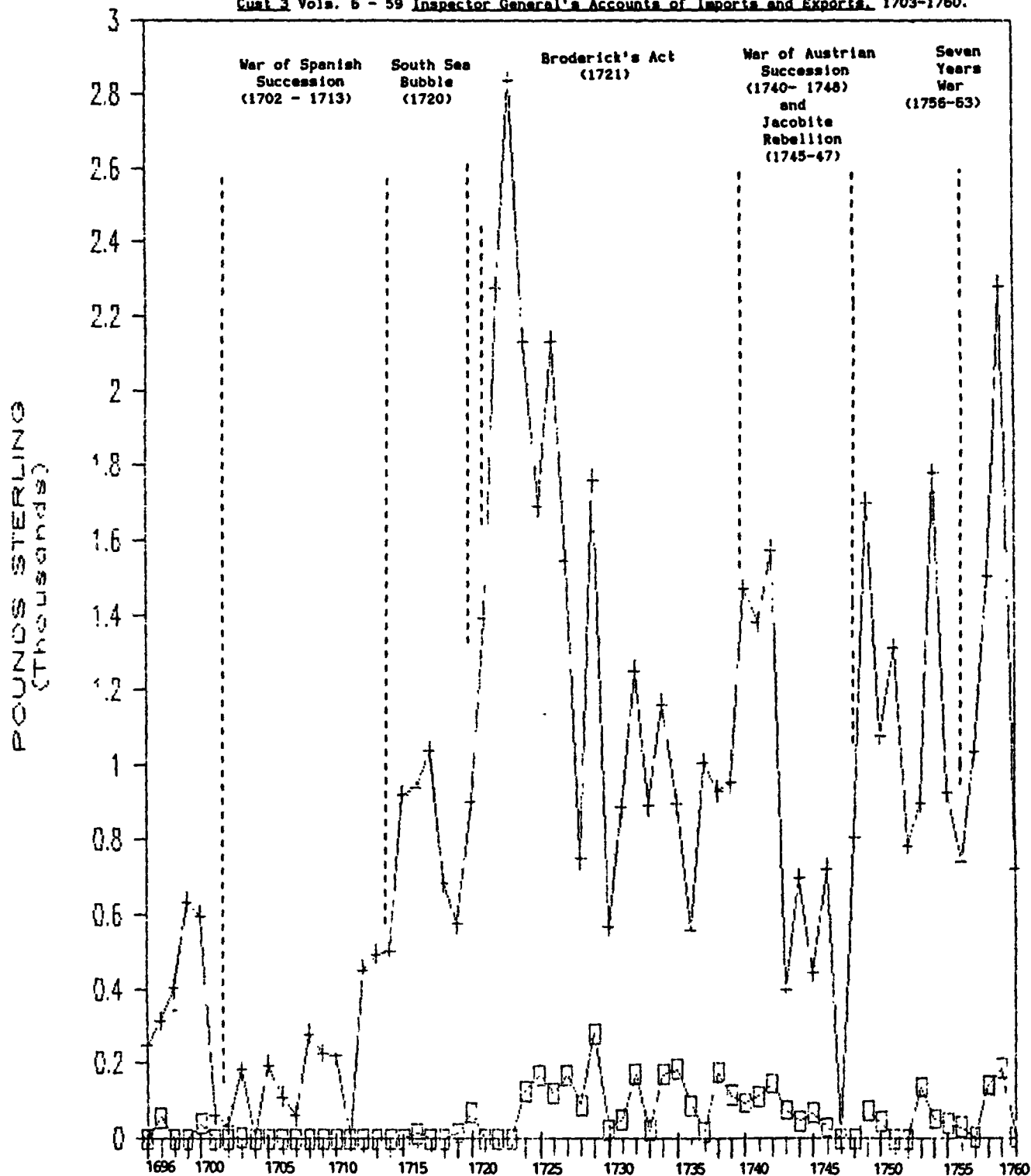


TABLE 12

THE IMPORTATION OF PAINTINGS INTO LONDON FROM FRANCE  
1696 - 1760  
COMPARED WITH TOTAL IMPORTS OF PAINTINGS  
(As shown in Table 1)

Source: London Public Record Office Cust 2 Vols. 1-10, Inspector General's Accounts of Imports and Exports, 1696-1702;  
Cust 3 Vols. 6 - 59 Inspector General's Accounts of Imports and Exports, 1703-1760.

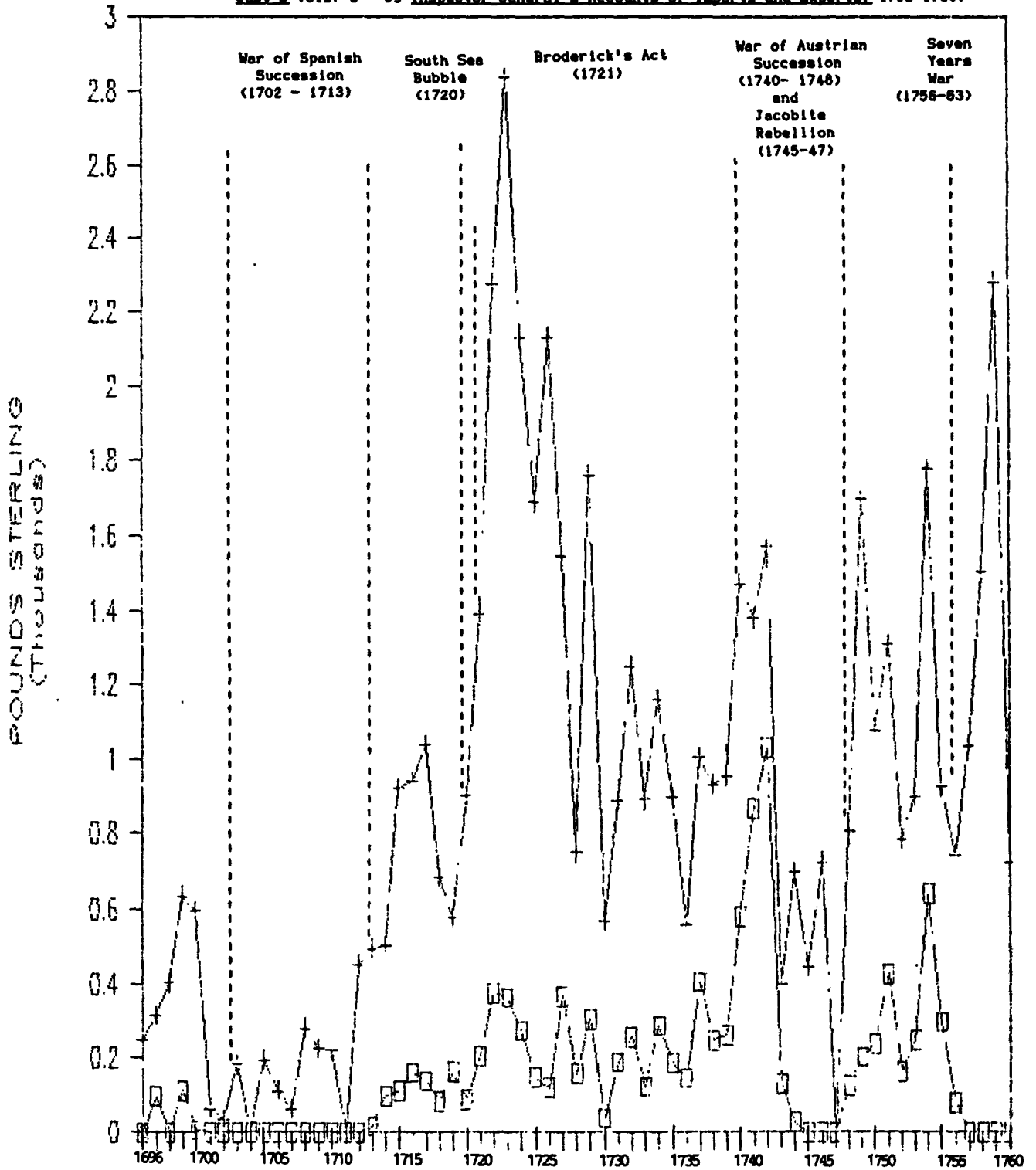


TABLE 13

THE IMPORTATION OF PAINTINGS INTO LONDON FROM FLANDERS  
1696 - 1760  
COMPARED WITH TOTAL IMPORTS OF PAINTINGS  
(As shown in Table 1)

Source: London Public Record Office, Cust 2 Vols. 1-10, Inspector General's Accounts of Imports and Exports, 1696-1702;  
Cust 3 Vols. 6 - 59 Inspector General's Accounts of Imports and Exports, 1703-1760.

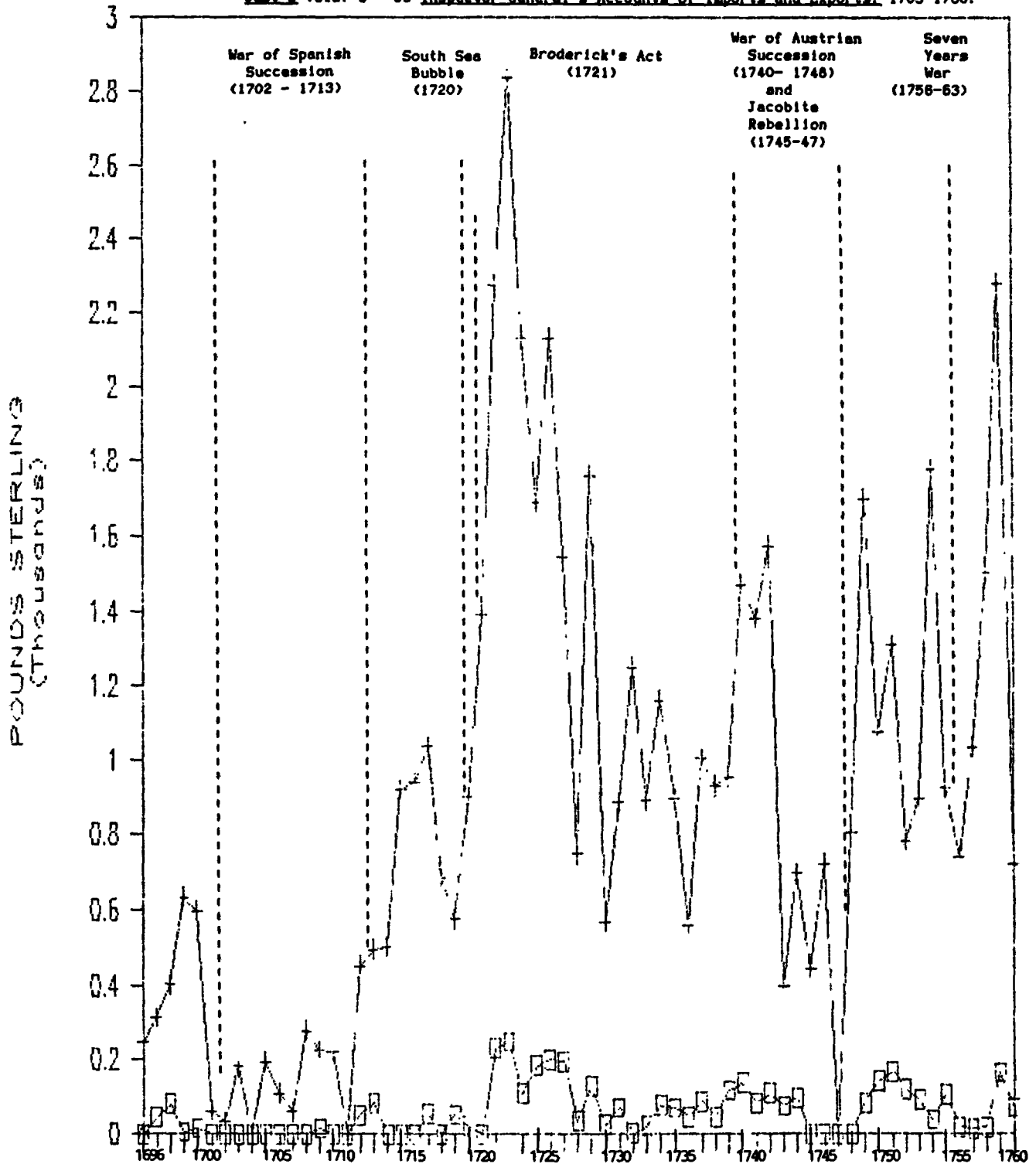


TABLE 14

THE IMPORTATION OF PAINTINGS INTO LONDON FROM GERMANY  
1696 - 1760  
COMPARED WITH TOTAL IMPORTS OF PAINTINGS  
(As shown in Table 1)

Source: London Public Record Office Cust 2 Vols. 1-10, Inspector General's Accounts of Imports and Exports, 1696-1702;  
Cust 3 Vols. 6 - 59 Inspector General's Accounts of Imports and Exports, 1703-1760.

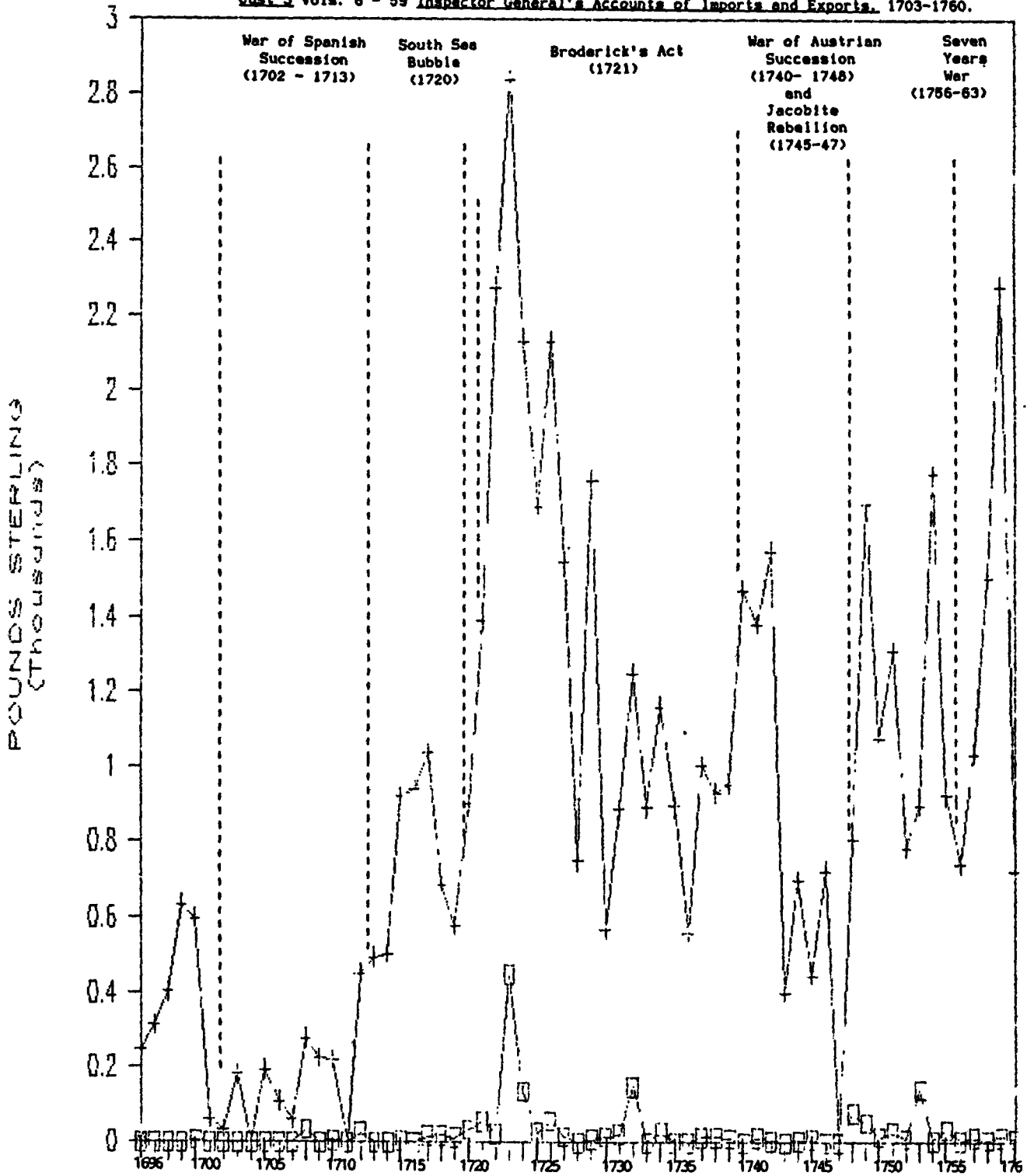
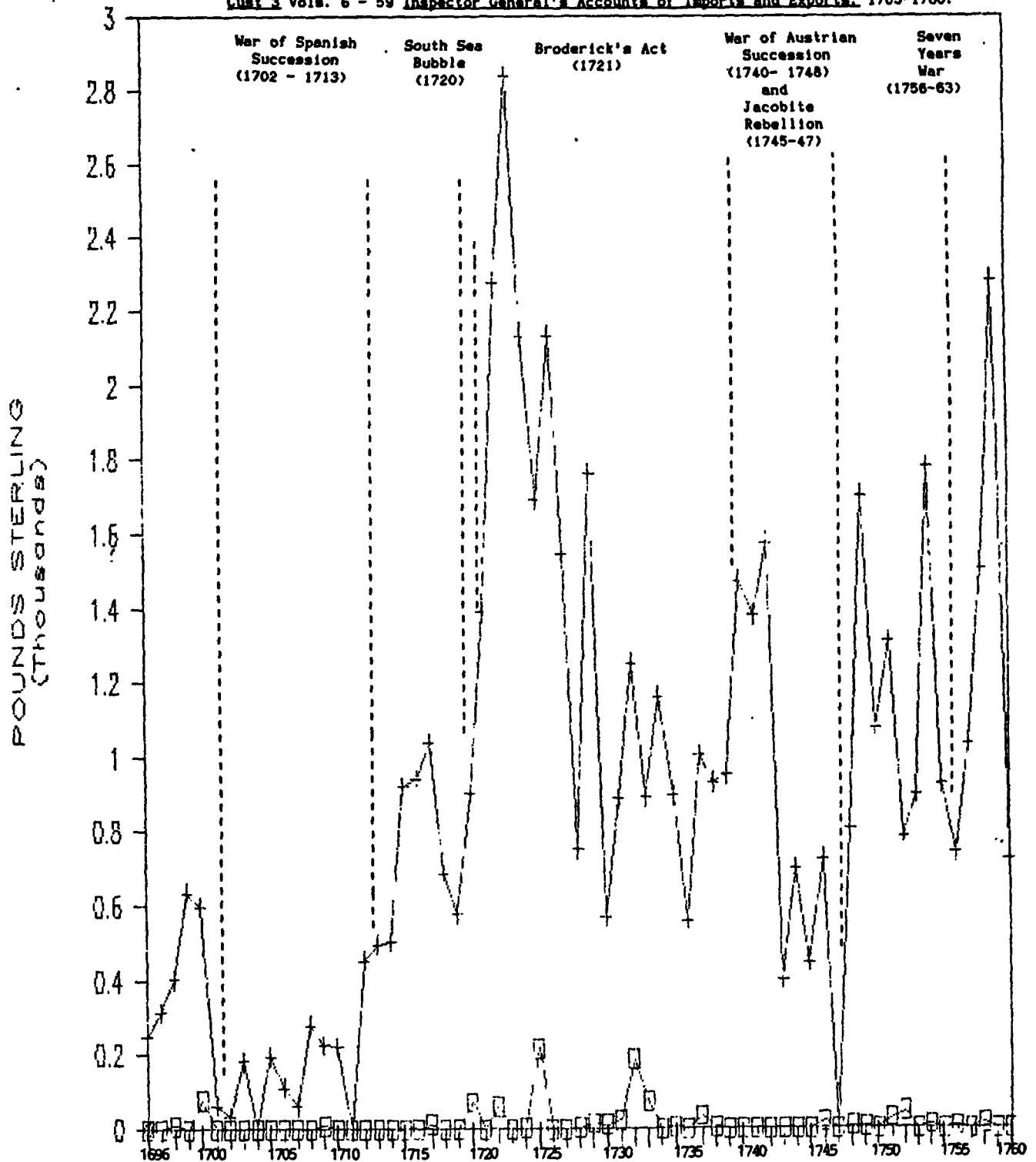


TABLE 15

THE IMPORTATION OF PAINTINGS INTO LONDON FROM SPAIN  
1696 - 1760  
COMPARED WITH TOTAL IMPORTS OF PAINTINGS  
(As shown in Table 1)

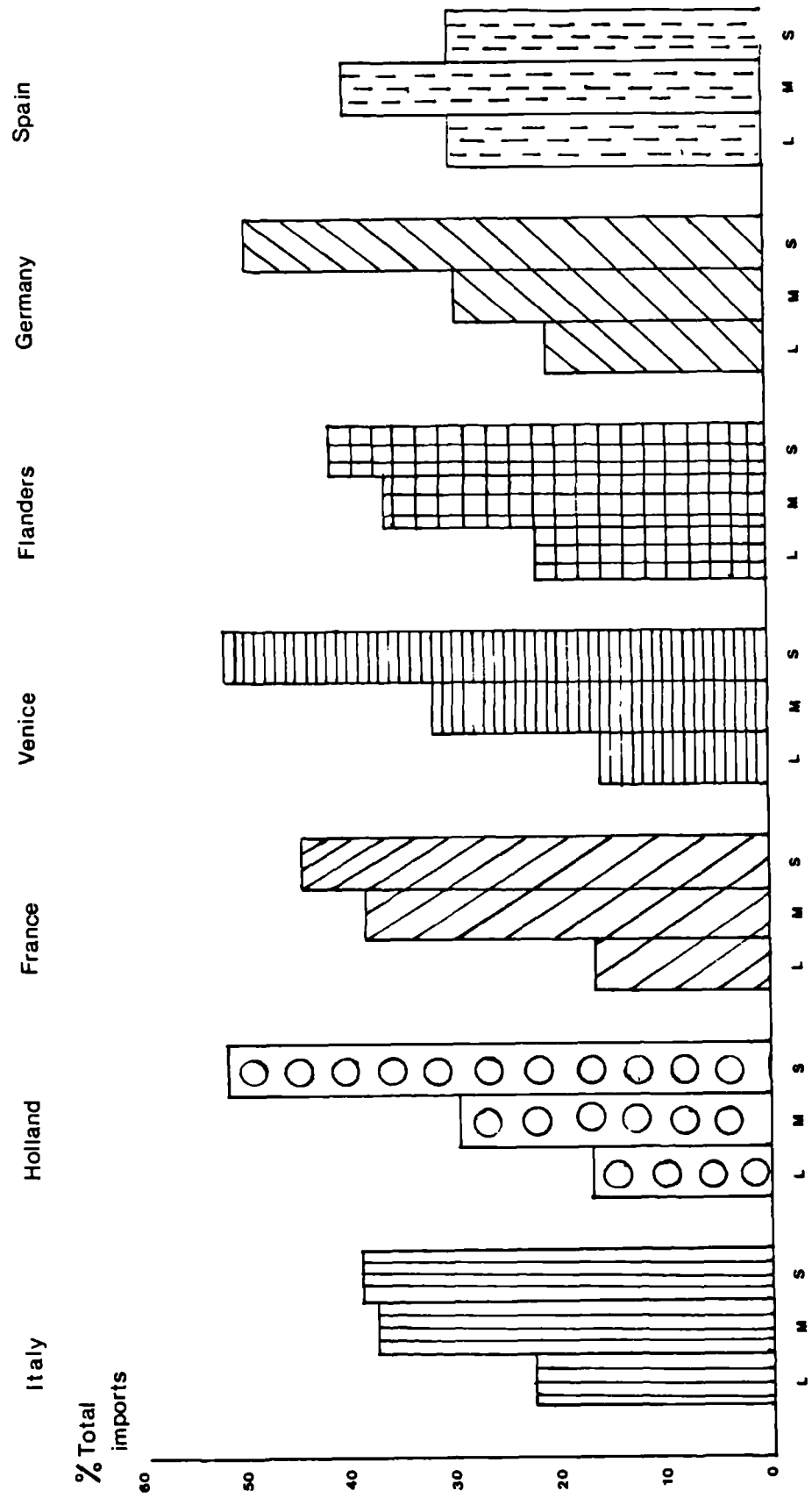
Source: London Public Record Office Cust 2 Vols. 1-10, Inspector General's Accounts of Imports and Exports, 1696-1702;  
Cust 3 Vols. 6 - 59 Inspector General's Accounts of Imports and Exports, 1703-1760.





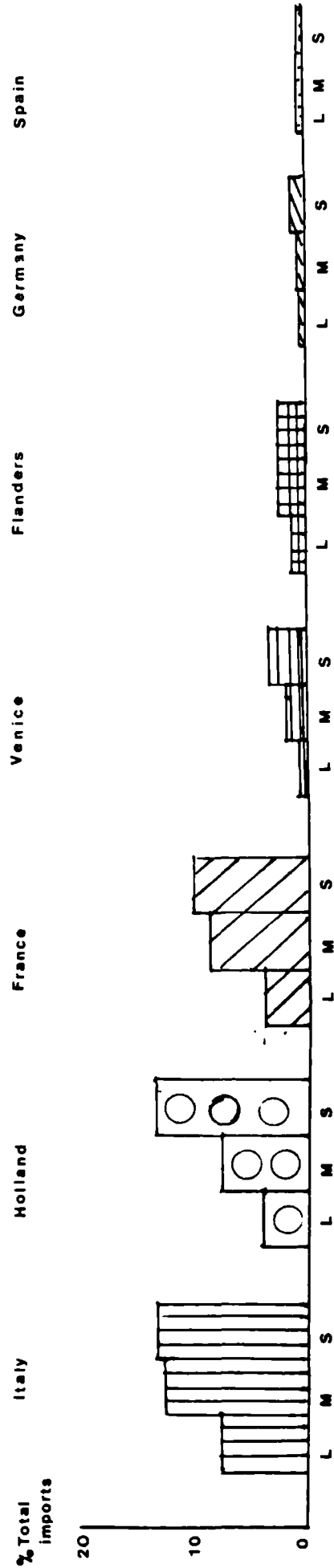
APPENDIX F  
A COMPARISON OF LARGE, MEDIUM AND SMALL PAINTINGS BY COUNTRY  
IMPORTED INTO LONDON  
1697-1760

Fig. 1 A comparison of large, medium and small paintings by country as a percentage of the total volume of paintings imported into London from each country between 1696 and 1760. L = large paintings, above 4 ft square; M = medium, between 2 and 4 ft square; S = small paintings, less than 2 ft square.



A COMPARISON OF LARGE, MEDIUM AND SMALL PAINTINGS BY COUNTRY  
IMPORTED INTO OUTPORTS (excluding London)  
1697-1760

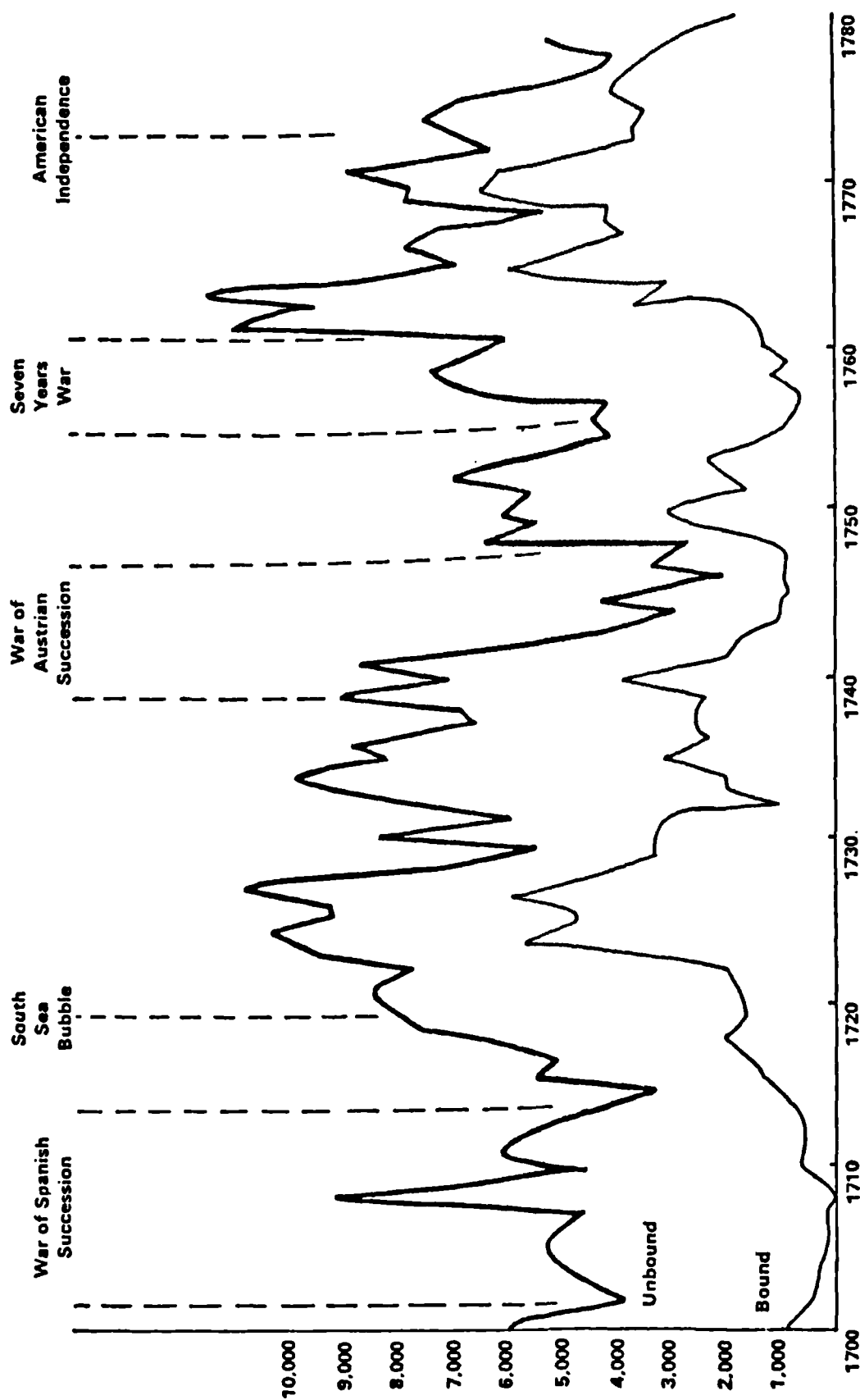
Fig. 2 A comparison of large, medium and small paintings by country as a percentage of the total volume of paintings imported from each country through all British outports (excluding London) between 1696 and 1760. L = large paintings, above 4 ft square; M = medium, between 2 and 4 ft square; S = small paintings, less than 2 ft square.



**APPENDIX G**

**BRITISH BOOK IMPORTS 1700 - 1780**

*British book imports 1700-1780*  
H.M. Customs estimations of value.



An Extract from: Giles Barber 'Book Imports and Exports in the Eighteenth Century' in *Sale and Distribution of Books from 1700*, eds. Robin Meyers and Michael Harris (Oxford: Oxford Polytechnic Press, 1982), p. 102.

Appendix H .

George Vertue's Visit to Wilton 1731

Vertue, 'Notebooks' 4, Walpole Society, XXIV (Oxford, 1936) p. 19.

'... a printed book ... of the collection of pictures by Gamberini but most likely. the Lords own direction - where he poseses. (sic.) yt. is Gamberini intends to have engrav'd. the capital pictures of this collection and others- The kings pictures at his five palaces to be done that are not already done, and other Noblemen and Gentlemens Collections. the

Duke of Somerset

Duke of Kingstone

Duke of Argyle,

Lord Burlington

Lord Chomley

Lord James Cavendish

Sir Robert Walpole

Sir Paul Methuen

Sir John Darnel

Col. Guy

Sec. Berchet

Mr Richardson

Duke of Devonshire

Duke of Buckingham

Duke of Kent

Lord Malpas

Lord Harington

Lord Tyrconnel

Sir Robert Sutton

Sir Gregory Page

Sir James Thornhill

Dr. Mead

**APPENDICES TO CHAPTER FOUR**



### Methodology

A simple random sampling of sales catalogues covering the years 1689 - 1694 was selected. Since the paintings were already grouped by sales, it was preferable for the sake of convenience to work in detail on sales as a sampling unit (rather than a random sampling of paintings which would result in greater volume in numbers and yet still achieve the same conclusions).

In this particular case the sampling unit represents "clusters" in which each unit is a collection or cluster of elements. The elements which make up each sale are paintings. We are of course assuming that the characteristics from one cluster to another are as alike as possible, that is, that the proportion of Dutch versus Italian paintings is similar from one sale to the next. For the sake of definition [1] the elements (that is, the paintings) within each cluster (that is, sales) are expected to be as different as possible and the clusters' means are as alike as possible. That is, the more homogeneous the clusters are within themselves, the less one loses by cluster sampling in terms of precision. To preserve this homogeneity then, it was necessary to eliminate those sales which might deviate from the mean such as those sales representing the collections of artists living and working in England, and any other individuals who might for one reason or another have only collected the paintings from one country or another.

Total distribution frequencies of paintings by various subjects for artists working in England and abroad including uncertain countries of origin

| ( "Yes" = Working in England; "No" = not working in England; "U" = Uncertain.) |           |      |       |          |          |       |           |       |              |             |         |            |         |         |            |          |           |        |     |       |       |              |     |        |     |       |             |       |        |           |
|--|-----------|------|-------|----------|----------|-------|-----------|-------|--------------|-------------|---------|------------|---------|---------|------------|----------|-----------|--------|-----|-------|-------|--------------|-----|--------|-----|-------|-------------|-------|--------|-----------|
| NATIONALITY  | HISTORIES |      |       |          |          |       | PORTRAITS |       |              |             | GEN DRO | STILL LIFE |         |         |            |          |           | ARCHIT | ANI | SEASC | FIRES | LANDSCAPES   |     |        |     | Total |             |       |        |           |
|  | Myth      | Bibl | Other | Myth Fig | Bibl Fig | Saint | Alleg     | Secul | Rec Pers ons | Rec Roy -al |         | Heads      | Gen Fig | Dro-lls | Flo wer-it | Sea food | Vari -tas |        |     |       |       | Dead game-er | Oth | Archit | ANI |       | Seasc Boats | FIRES | Landsc | Landscape |
| DUTCH  | Y         | 1    |       |          |          |       |           |       |              |             |         |            |         |         |            |          |           |        |     |       |       |              |     |        |     |       |             |       |        |           |
|  | No        | 10   | 1     | 1        | 2        | 5     | 4         | 8     | 1            | 16          | 9       | 22         | 38      | 24      | 13         | 3        | 4         | 2      | 3   | 9     | 25    | 2            | 80  | 7      | 3   | 2     | 17          | 315   |        |           |
|  | U         | 3    | 1     |          |          |       | 1         | 1     | 5            | 12          | 1       | 9          | 11      | 7       | 7          | 2        | 1         | 2      | 1   | 14    | 12    |              | 37  | 3      | 1   | 1     | 2           | 154   |        |           |
| FLEMISH  | Y         | 2    | 8     | 5        |          |       |           |       |              |             |         |            |         |         |            |          |           |        |     |       |       |              |     |        |     |       |             |       |        |           |
|  | No        | 2    | 11    | 2        | 2        | 4     | 5         | 1     | 10           | 15          | 12      | 13         | 17      | 5       | 4          | 4        | 3         | 3      | 6   | 4     | 1     | 22           | 5   | 3      | 2   | 1     | 2           | 128   |        |           |
|  | U         | 2    | 2     | 2        | 3        |       |           | 1     |              |             |         |            |         |         |            |          |           | 1      | 1   |       |       |              |     |        |     | 1     |             | 14    | 274    |           |
| ITALIAN  | Y         |      |       |          |          |       |           |       |              |             |         |            |         |         |            |          |           |        |     |       |       |              |     |        |     |       |             |       |        |           |
|  | No        | 1    | 9     | 2        | 2        | 7     | 3         | 6     | 1            | 8           |         | 2          |         | 1       |            | 1        |           |        | 1   | 1     | 1     |              | 8   |        |     |       |             | 52    | 8      | 60        |
|  | U         |      | 1     | 1        |          |       |           | 2     | 1            |             |         |            |         |         |            |          |           |        |     |       |       |              | 2   |        |     |       |             |       |        |           |
| VENETIAN   | Y         |      |       |          |          |       |           |       |              |             |         |            |         |         |            |          |           |        |     |       |       |              |     |        |     |       |             |       |        |           |
|  | No        | 2    | 1     |          | 1        | 3     | 5         | 7     | 3            | 8           | 1       | 3          | 4       |         |            | 1        |           |        | 1   | 1     |       |              | 2   | 2      | 1   |       |             | 43    | 2      | 45        |
|  | U         |      |       |          |          |       |           |       | 1            | 1           |         |            |         |         |            |          |           |        |     |       |       |              |     |        |     |       |             |       |        |           |
| FRENCH   | Y         |      |       |          |          |       |           |       |              |             |         |            |         |         |            |          |           |        |     |       |       |              |     |        |     |       |             |       |        |           |
|  | No        | 1    |       | 1        | 3        | 3     | 1         | 3     |              | 2           | 2       | 1          |         | 2       | 1          |          |           |        | 1   | 1     |       |              | 11  |        |     | 10    |             | 39    | 6      | 45        |
|  | U         |      |       |          |          |       |           |       |              |             |         |            |         | 1       | 1          |          |           |        |     |       |       |              | 2   |        |     |       |             |       |        |           |
| GERMAN   | Y         |      |       |          |          |       |           |       |              |             |         |            |         |         |            |          |           |        |     |       |       |              |     |        |     |       |             |       |        |           |
|  | No        |      | 10    | 1        | 2        |       | 2         | 2     | 1            | 5           | 1       |            |         | 1       |            |          |           |        | 2   | 1     |       |              | 10  | 2      | 1   |       |             | 18    | 37     | 62        |
|  | U         |      |       |          | 2        |       |           |       | 1            | 1           | 2       | 2          |         |         |            |          |           |        |     |       |       |              |     |        |     |       |             |       |        |           |
| BRITISH  | Y         | 1    | 3     |          |          |       | 1         | 3     |              | 5           | 9       | 6          | 2       | 2       |            |          |           |        | 2   | 4     |       |              | 1   |        |     |       |             | 40    |        |           |
|  | No        |      |       |          |          |       |           |       |              |             |         |            |         |         |            |          |           |        |     |       |       |              |     |        |     |       |             |       |        |           |
|  | U         | 1    | 1     |          | 2        |       | 1         | 2     | 6            | 3           | 2       | 3          | 1       |         | 3          | 1        |           |        |     | 2     | 2     | 1            | 11  |        |     | 2     |             | 44    | 84     |           |
| TOTAL  | 24        | 48   | 15    | 11       | 41       | 35    | 52        | 8     | 121          | 52          | 65      | 60         | 69      | 52      | 29         | 7        | 11        | 8      | 7   | 15    | 26    | 72           | 4   | 3      | 220 | 14    | 20          | 21    | 1110   | 1110      |

TABLE 2

Types of Pictures in Nine Auction Catalogues, 1690-1691

Source: Henry V.S. and Margaret Ogden, English Taste in Landscape in the Seventeenth Century (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1955), p. 91.

| Subject                           | Number | Percentage of Total |
|-----------------------------------|--------|---------------------|
| Historical compositions:          |        |                     |
| Mythological .....                | 164    |                     |
| Biblical .....                    | 194    |                     |
| Other .....                       | 13     |                     |
| Total .....                       | 371    | 10.6                |
| Historical Figures:               |        |                     |
| Mythological .....                | 111    |                     |
| Biblical .....                    | 107    |                     |
| Ecclesiastical (saints).....      | 58     |                     |
| Allegorical .....                 | 27     |                     |
| Secular .....                     | 50     |                     |
| Total .....                       | 353    | 9.5                 |
| Portraits:                        |        |                     |
| Recent & contemporary persons.... | 99     |                     |
| Recent & contemporary royalty.... | 236    |                     |
| "Heads", various persons .....    | 213    |                     |
| Total .....                       | 548    | 14.8                |
| Genre figures .....               | 314    |                     |
| Drolls and low life .....         | 174    |                     |
| Total .....                       | 488    | 13.2                |
| Still Life:                       |        |                     |
| Flowers .....                     | 84     |                     |
| Fruit .....                       | 125    |                     |
| Sea food .....                    | 57     |                     |
| Vanitas .....                     | 17     |                     |
| Dead game .....                   | 27     |                     |
| Other .....                       | 118    |                     |
| Total .....                       | 428    | 11.6                |
| Architectural perspectives        |        |                     |
| and buildings.....                | 35     | 0.9                 |
| Animals, without landscape .....  | 144    | 3.9                 |
| Sea pieces and boats .....        | 174    | 4.6                 |
| Fire pieces, burning buildings .. | 32     | 0.8                 |
| Undesignated subjects .....       | 77     | 2.0                 |
| Landscapes .....                  | 684    | 18.5                |
| Semi-landscapes .....             | 354    | 9.6                 |
| <u>Grand Total</u> .....          | 3,688  | 100.0               |

TABLE 3  
Fourteen Sales Catalogues, 1689-1694

| Fritz Lugt<br>Catalogue No. | Date of<br>Sale   | ' Useable'<br>Sample | Unidenf'd'<br>Group | Subject<br>Group | Total |
|-----------------------------|-------------------|----------------------|---------------------|------------------|-------|
| 14                          | 31 May 1689       | 23                   | 0                   | 17               | 40    |
| 18                          | 28 June 1689      | 52                   | 1                   | 65               | 118   |
| 21                          | 12 July 1689      | 60                   | 1                   | 131              | 192   |
| 24                          | 2 August 1689     | 46                   | 0                   | 135              | 181   |
| 28                          | 1 November 1689   | 32                   | 2                   | 100              | 134   |
| 32                          | 16-17 Dec, 1689   | 79                   | 2                   | 299              | 380   |
| 36                          | 20-22 Feb. 1690   | 79                   | 2                   | 208              | 289   |
| 39                          | 3 April 1690      | 95                   | 18                  | 211              | 324   |
| 64                          | 24 Sept. 1690     | 176                  | 9                   | 136              | 321   |
| 103                         | 15 June 1691      | 148                  | 4                   | 93               | 245   |
| 109                         | 13-16 Oct. 1691/2 | 90                   | 1                   | 223              | 314   |
| 121                         | 23 Nov. 1691/2    | 82                   | 0                   | 8                | 90    |
| 141                         | 22-23 Jan. 1692/3 | 81                   | 7                   | 70               | 158   |
| 150 (a)                     | 23 March 1692/3   | 64                   | 2                   | 62               | 128   |
| Missing Values *            |                   | 3                    | 5                   |                  | 8     |
| TOTAL                       |                   | 1110                 | 54                  | 1,758            | 2922  |
| %                           |                   |                      |                     |                  |       |

The 'Useable Sample' represents paintings selected from the total sample (column 5), identified by name of artist and the title of the painting listed together in sales catalogues

The 'Unidentified Group' refers to paintings by artists whose names could not be found in biographical dictionaries such as Thieme - Becker's Kunst Lexikon and Bryan's Dictionary of Artists and Engravers. This group could not be included in the useable sample.

The 'Subject Group' represents paintings in sales catalogues listed by the subject or title of the painting only. Since the artists name was omitted this subject group could not be included in the useable sample.

Column 5 shows the total number of paintings in each sale catalogue covering the years 1689 to 1693/3.

\* Missing Values. A small discrepancy in the recording and counting of data occurred as a result of transferring the data from one source to another and in the process of tabulating data.

APPENDIX 4

The Principal Seventeenth Century Dutch Artists Working in England  
During the Period 1689-1694

Source : British Library, Sale Catalogues# 1409.g.i. ( a selection of Fourteen Sales Catalogues 1689 - 1694 (as listed in the Bibliography).

BERGEN, Dirk van den (b. Haarlem c. 1645 - d. Haarlem ? 1689); worked in London 1673.

BLOOTELING/BLOTELING, Abraham (b. Amsterdam 1634 - d. Amsterdam 1689); worked in England 1672.

BOGDANE/BOGDANY, James (b.Eperjes (?) - d. Finchley 1724). An artist of Hungarian origin, trained in Holland who came to England under William and Mary.

OLD BOONE, (prob. Daniel Boon), (b. Holland ? - d. London 1689). A painter of drunken scenes and revellings, who flourished in the reign of Charles II.

CAREE, (prob. Michiel Caree) (b. Amsterdam 1666 - d. Alkmaar 1728). According to Bryan's Dictionary (vol. 1, p. 259), Houbraken noted that Caree resided in England for a period of time.

COLONI/COLONIA, Adam (b. Rotterdam 1634 - d. London 1685).

COLONI/COLONIA, Hendrick Adriaan (b. 1668 - d. London 1701), was the son of Adam and brother-in-law of the landscape artist Adriaen van Diest, by whom he was instructed. Also painted landscapes in the style of Salvator Rosa (Bryan, vol.1, p. 317).

DIEST, Adriaen van (b. The Hague 1655 - d. London 1704). Came to England in 1672 and employed by Granville, Earl of Bath. According to Walpole, Sir Peter Lely's collection contained 7 paintings by van Diest (Bryan, vol. II, p. 73).

EDEMA, Gerard (b. Friesland 1652 - d. Richmond 1700). Came to England about 1670, and collaborated with Thomas Wyck who painted the figures in Edema's landscapes. There was also a son, Nicolaes Edema (b. Friesland 1666 - d. London 1722) who went to Surinam to paint landscapes, plants and insects. He was also a good landscape painter. (Bryan, vol. II, p. 120).

GRIFFIER, Jan (b. Amsterdam 1645 - d. London 1718). The elder Griffier had two sons, John Griffier (b. late 17th century - d. London 1750) and Robert Griffier (b. 1688 - d. London 1750).

HEEMSKERCK, Egbert van (called The Younger) (b. Haarlem 1645 - d. London 1704). Settled in England during the reign of William III, and was patronized by the Earl of Rochester, (Bryan, vol. III, p.26)

HEEMSKERCK, Egbert van II (b. Haarlem ?- d. London c. 1744).

HONDIUS, Abraham (b. Rotterdam 1638 - d. London 1695).

JONSON, (JOHNSON/JANSSENS) van Ceulen, Cornelis (b. London 1593 - d. Amsterdam or Utrecht 1661/2).

KNYFF, Leonard (b. Haarlem 1650 - d. London 1690).

LAROON/LAUROON, Marcellus (b. The Hague 1653 - d. London 1680).

LIEVENS, Jan (b. Leyden 1607 - d. Antwerp 1672). Visited England and painted for Charles I and noble families in the period after 1630 (Bryan, vol. III, p. 235).

LOTEN/LOOTEN, Jan (b. Amsterdam ? 1618 - d. 11681).

MEULEN, Pieter van der , (dates unknown) probably the brother and pupil of Adam Frans van der Meulen. Painted battles and hunts and in 1670 came to England to paint the exploits of William III (Bryan vol. III, p. 248).

MOLIJN, Pieter (b. London 1595 - d. Haarlem 1661).

POELENBURGH, Cornelis van (b. Utrecht 1586 - d. Utrecht 1667). In 1607 Charles I invited him to London where he remained for some time and painted several pictures for the king and nobility. However he did not remain in England (Bryan vol. IV, p. 137).

ROESTRAETEN, Pieter Gerritsz, van (b. Haarlem 1627 - d. London 1700).

SCHALKEN, Gottfried (b. Made 1643 - d. The Hague 1706).

SOMER, Paul van (b. Antwerp c. 1576 - d. London 1621).

STEVENS, John (b. Holland ? - d. London 1722). Redgrave p. 413; Walpole describes this artist as a native English painter working in the style of van Diest.

STOOP, Dirck (b. Utrecht (?) 1618 - d. Utrecht (?) 1686). Walpole p. 248 mentions Pieter Stoop, the brother of Dirck; the two artists were sometimes confused.

STRAETEN, Henrick van der (b. 1665 - d. London 1722). A successful landscape painter who visited England in about 1690.

VAART, Jan van der (b. Haarlem 1647 - d. London 1721). Van der Vaart came to England in 1674 and studied under Thomas Wijck. He began by painting portraits and still life, and was later employed by William Wissing to paint draperies. In 1713 he abandoned painting and turned to picture restoration and engraving (Bryan vol V, p. 252).

VELDE, Willem van de (The Elder) (b. Leyden 1611 - d. Greenwich 1693).

VELDE, Willem van de (The Younger) (b. Leyden 1633 - d. Greenwich 1707)

VERELST, Herman (b. The Hague 1641 - d. London 1690).

VERELST, Jan (b. Dordrecht 1648 - d. London (?)).

VERELST, Simon (b. The Hague 1644 - d. London 1721).

VERELST, Willem (d. London after 1756).

VORSTERMAN, Johannes (b. Bommel 1643 - d. Poland 1699). After the Restoration, Vorsterman came to England and painted views and other

works for the King, but did not received a large number of commissions because his prices were too high. Vorsterman went to Poland with the Marquis of Bethune and is believed to have died there.

WIJCK, Jan (b. Haarlem 1640 - d. Mortlake 1702).

WISSING, Willem (b. Amsterdam 1655/7 - d. Burleigh 1687).

**APPENDICES TO CHAPTER FIVE**



APPENDIX A

Table 1 : Sample 1

Total distribution frequencies of paintings by various subjects  
for artists working in England and abroad.

APPENDIX TABLE 1

Sample 1

Total distribution frequencies of paintings by various subjects for artists working in England and abroad, including uncertain countries of origin

("Yes" = Working in England; "No" = not working in England; "U" = Uncertain.)

| NATIONALITY         | HISTORIES |      |       |          | PORTRAITS |       |       |       | GEN DRG | STILL LIFE   |            |       |             | ARCHIT | ANI | SEASC | FIRES | LANDSCAPES |        |          | Sub Tot | Total |
|---------------------|-----------|------|-------|----------|-----------|-------|-------|-------|---------|--------------|------------|-------|-------------|--------|-----|-------|-------|------------|--------|----------|---------|-------|
|                     | Myth      | Bibl | Other | Myth Fig | Bibl Fig  | Saint | Alleg | Secul |         | Rec Pers ons | Rec Roy al | Heads | Gen Fig L L |        |     |       |       | Flo wer    | Fru it | Sea food |         |       |
| DUTCH               | Y         | 1    |       | 1        | 1         |       |       |       | 3       | 3            | 1          | 3     | 2           | 1      |     |       | 1     | 1          | 5      | 4        |         | 28    |
|                     | No U      | 1    | 3     | 1        | 1         |       |       |       | 3       | 1            | 2          | 11    | 1           |        |     |       |       | 2          | 34     |          | 67      |       |
| ITALIAN             | Y         | 1    |       |          |           |       |       |       |         |              |            |       |             |        |     |       |       |            |        |          |         | 95    |
|                     | No U      | 8    | 17    | 4        | 1         | 13    | 6     | 5     | 2       | 3            |            |       |             |        |     |       | 1     | 6          | 1      |          | 5       |       |
| VENETIAN            | Y         | 1    |       |          |           |       |       |       |         |              |            |       |             |        |     |       |       |            |        |          |         | 79    |
|                     | No U      | 1    | 6     | 1        |           | 2     | 1     | 2     | 3       | 1            | 2          | 1     | 3           |        |     |       |       | 2          | 1      |          | 3       |       |
| FLEMISH             | Y         | 3    |       |          | 2         |       |       |       | 3       | 3            | 8          |       |             |        |     |       |       |            |        |          |         | 33    |
|                     | No U      | 1    | 7     | 2        | 1         | 1     | 2     | 2     | 1       |              |            | 8     | 2           |        |     |       | 2     | 1          | 14     | 1        | 3       |       |
| FRENCH              | Y         |      |       |          |           |       |       |       |         |              |            |       |             |        |     |       |       |            |        |          |         | 73    |
|                     | No U      |      | 2     | 2        | 1         | 1     | 1     | 1     | 2       |              |            | 2     | 6           |        |     |       |       | 1          | 19     | 12       | 3       |       |
| GERMAN              | Y         | 1    |       |          |           |       |       |       | 3       | 1            |            |       |             |        |     |       |       |            |        |          |         | 50    |
|                     | No U      |      | 3     |          |           | 1     |       | 1     |         |              |            | 2     | 2           |        |     |       |       | 1          | 1      |          | 3       |       |
| BRITISH             | Y         | 1    |       |          |           |       |       |       |         |              |            |       |             |        |     |       |       |            |        |          |         | 19    |
|                     |           |      |       |          |           |       |       |       |         |              |            |       |             |        |     |       |       |            |        |          |         | 17    |
| SUB-TOTAL           |           |      |       |          |           |       |       |       |         |              |            |       |             |        |     |       |       |            |        |          |         | 366   |
| OTHER NATIONALITIES |           |      |       |          |           |       |       |       |         |              |            |       |             |        |     |       |       |            |        |          |         | 7     |
| UNKNOWN             |           |      |       |          |           |       |       |       |         |              |            |       |             |        |     |       |       |            |        |          |         | 7     |
| UNKNOWN             |           |      |       |          |           |       |       |       |         |              |            |       |             |        |     |       |       |            |        |          |         | 54    |
| UNKNOWN             |           |      |       |          |           |       |       |       |         |              |            |       |             |        |     |       |       |            |        |          |         | 54    |
| TOTAL               |           |      |       |          |           |       |       |       |         |              |            |       |             |        |     |       |       |            |        |          |         | 424   |

**APPENDIX B**

Table 2 : Sample 2

Total distribution frequencies of paintings by various subjects  
for artists working in England and abroad.

APPENDIX TABLE 2  
Sample 2

Total distribution frequencies of paintings by various subjects  
for artists working in England and abroad,  
including uncertain countries of origin

| ("Yes" = Working in England; "No" = not working in England; "U" = Uncertain.) |           |      |       |          |          |       |       |       |          |         |           |          |         |         |         |            |          |           |        |        |        |         |       |             |        |         |       |
|---|-----------|------|-------|----------|----------|-------|-------|-------|----------|---------|-----------|----------|---------|---------|---------|------------|----------|-----------|--------|--------|--------|---------|-------|-------------|--------|---------|-------|
| NATIONALITY   | HISTORIES |      |       |          |          |       |       |       |          |         | PORTRAITS |          |         |         | GEN DRG | STILL LIFE |          |           |        |        | ARCHIT | AMUSESC | FIRES | LANDSCAPES  |        | Sub Tot | Total |
|   | Myth      | Bibl | Other | Myth Fig | Bibl Fig | Saint | Alleg | Secul | Rec Pers | Rec Roy | Heads     | Gen Figs | Dro-lls | Flo war |         | Fru Sea    | Vari-tas | Dead game | Oth-er | Landsc |        |         |       | Semi Landsc | Oth-er |         |       |
| DUTCH   | Y         |      |       | 1        | 1        |       |       | 1     | 1        | 7       |           |          |         | 3       | 1       |            |          |           |        |        |        |         |       | 7           | 1      | 23      |       |
|   | NC        | 3    | 4     |          | 2        |       |       |       | 4        |         | 5         | 13       | 3       |         |         |            | 1        | 5         |        |        |        |         | 31    | 3           | 89     |         |       |
|   | U         |      |       |          |          |       |       |       |          |         |           |          |         |         |         |            |          |           |        |        |        |         | 2     |             | 2      | 114     |       |
| ITALIAN   | Y         |      |       |          |          |       |       |       |          |         |           |          |         |         |         |            |          |           |        |        |        |         |       |             |        | 2       |       |
|   | NC        | 6    | 18    | 1        | 8        | 16    |       | 3     | 2        | 1       | 1         | 3        |         |         |         |            |          |           |        |        |        |         | 9     | 3           | 82     |         |       |
|   | U         |      | 1     |          | 6        |       |       |       | 1        |         |           |          |         |         |         |            |          |           |        |        |        |         | 2     |             |        | 10      | 94    |
| VENETIAN  | Y         |      |       |          | 2        | 2     |       | 1     |          |         |           | 1        |         |         |         |            |          |           |        |        |        |         |       |             |        |         |       |
|   | NC        |      | 4     |          | 4        | 1     |       | 1     |          | 2       | 2         |          |         |         |         |            |          |           |        |        |        |         | 5     |             |        | 11      |       |
|   | U         |      |       |          |          |       |       |       |          |         |           |          |         |         |         |            |          |           |        |        |        |         |       |             |        | 1       | 31    |
| FLEMISH   | Y         | 3    | 4     |          |          | 1     |       |       |          | 4       |           | 5        | 2       | 1       | 1       |            |          |           |        |        |        |         |       |             |        | 21      |       |
|   | NC        | 2    | 2     |          |          |       |       |       |          |         | 2         | 2        | 2       | 2       | 2       |            | 2        | 1         |        |        |        |         | 22    | 2           | 40     |         |       |
|   | U         | 1    |       |          |          |       |       |       |          |         |           | 1        |         |         |         |            |          |           |        |        |        |         |       |             | 3      | 64      |       |
| FRENCH  | Y         |      | 1     |          |          |       |       |       |          |         |           | 3        |         | 1       |         |            |          |           |        |        |        |         | 1     | 1           | 7      |         |       |
|   | NC        | 1    | 3     |          | 3        |       |       | 1     |          | 1       |           | 3        |         |         |         |            |          |           |        |        |        |         | 17    | 3           | 33     |         |       |
|   | U         |      |       |          |          |       |       |       |          |         |           |          |         |         |         |            |          |           |        |        |        |         |       |             |        | 40      |       |
| GERMANY   | Y         |      |       |          |          |       |       |       |          |         |           |          |         |         |         |            |          |           |        |        |        |         | 2     |             | 6      |         |       |
|   | NC        |      | 3     |          | 3        | 3     |       | 1     |          |         |           |          |         |         |         |            |          |           |        |        |        |         |       |             | 10     | 16      |       |
|   | U         |      |       |          |          |       |       |       |          |         |           |          |         |         |         |            |          |           |        |        |        |         |       |             |        |         |       |
| BRITISH   | Y         |      | 1     |          | 2        | 2     |       |       |          | 3       |           |          |         | 1       | 1       |            |          |           |        |        |        |         |       |             |        | 14      | 14    |
|   | NC        |      |       |          |          |       |       |       |          |         |           |          |         |         |         |            |          |           |        |        |        |         |       |             |        |         |       |
|   | U         |      |       |          |          |       |       |       |          |         |           |          |         |         |         |            |          |           |        |        |        |         |       |             |        | 373     |       |
| SUB-TOTAL   |           |      |       |          |          |       |       |       |          |         |           |          |         |         |         |            |          |           |        |        |        |         |       |             |        |         |       |
| OTHER NATIONALITIES   | Y         | 1    | 1     |          | 1        |       |       | 1     |          | 2       |           | 1        |         |         |         |            |          |           |        |        |        |         |       |             |        | 7       | 7     |
|   | NC        |      |       |          |          |       |       |       |          |         |           |          |         |         |         |            |          |           |        |        |        |         |       |             |        |         |       |
|   | U         |      |       |          |          |       |       |       |          |         |           |          |         |         |         |            |          |           |        |        |        |         |       |             |        |         |       |
| UNKNOWN   | Y         | 1    | 1     |          | 1        | 3     |       | 1     |          | 6       |           | 3        | 1       | 2       |         | 1          |          |           |        |        |        |         | 7     | 2           | 37     | 37      |       |
|   | NC        |      |       |          |          |       |       |       |          |         |           |          |         |         |         |            |          |           |        |        |        |         |       |             |        |         |       |
|   | U         |      |       |          |          |       |       |       |          |         |           |          |         |         |         |            |          |           |        |        |        |         |       |             |        |         |       |
| TOTAL   |           | 18   | 43    | 1        | 19       | 42    |       | 10    | 4        | 30      |           | 18       | 30      | 8       | 8       | 1          | 2        |           |        |        |        |         | 107   | 15          | 417    | 417     |       |

("Yes" = Working in England; "No" = not working in England; "U" = Uncertain.)

**APPENDIX C**

**Histograms Showing Total Price Paid at Auction Sales 1711-1759**

**Sample 1 and 2 of the Houlditch Sales Catalogues**

**(Victoria and Albert Museum)**

TABLE 3

HISTOGRAM OF PRICE AS A TOTAL FOR DUTCH PAINTING IN SAMPLES I & II  
A Summary of the Lists of Priced Paintings in Appendix 6

|    | N    | MEAN  | MEDIAN | TRMEAN | STDEV | SEMEAN |
|----|------|-------|--------|--------|-------|--------|
| C8 | 85   | 9.03  | 6.30   | 7.77   | 9.29  | 1.01   |
|    | MIN  | MAX   | Q1     | Q3     |       |        |
| C8 | 0.65 | 52.50 | 2.97   | 12.04  |       |        |

Histogram of C8 N = 85

| Midpoint | Count |       |
|----------|-------|-------|
| £ 0      | 14    | ***** |
| 5        | 36    | ***** |
| 10       | 16    | ***** |
| 15       | 8     | ***** |
| 20       | 7     | ***** |
| 25       | 1     | *     |
| 30       | 0     |       |
| 35       | 0     |       |
| 40       | 1     | *     |
| 45       | 1     | *     |
| 50       | 0     |       |
| 55       | 1     | *     |

TABLE 4

HISTOGRAM OF PRICE AS A TOTAL FOR ITALIAN PAINTING IN SAMPLES I & II  
A Summary of the Lists of Priced Paintings in Appendix 6

|    | N    | MEAN   | MEDIAN | TRMEAN | STDEV | SEMEAN |
|----|------|--------|--------|--------|-------|--------|
| C8 | 108  | 16.77  | 8.64   | 14.11  | 19.78 | 1.90   |
|    | MIN  | MAX    | Q1     | Q3     |       |        |
| C8 | 0.75 | 115.50 | 5.37   | 21.00  |       |        |

Histogram of C8 N = 108

| Midpoint | Count |       |
|----------|-------|-------|
| £ 0      | 22    | ***** |
| 10       | 50    | ***** |
| 20       | 14    | ***** |
| 30       | 6     | ***** |
| 40       | 8     | ***** |
| 50       | 2     | **    |
| 60       | 2     | **    |
| 70       | 1     | *     |
| 80       | 1     | *     |
| 90       | 0     |       |
| 100      | 1     | *     |
| 110      | 0     |       |
| 120      | 1     | *     |

TABLE 5

HISTOGRAM OF PRICE AS A TOTAL FOR VENETIAN PAINTING IN SAMPLES I & II  
A Summary of the Lists of Priced Paintings in Appendix 6

|    | N    | MEAN  | MEDIAN | TRMEAN | STDEV | SEMEAN |
|----|------|-------|--------|--------|-------|--------|
| C8 | 15   | 21.35 | 21.00  | 20.97  | 15.61 | 4.03   |
|    | MIN  | MAX   | Q1     | Q3     |       |        |
| C8 | 0.60 | 47.00 | 4.72   | 35.70  |       |        |

Histogram of C8 N = 15

| Midpoint | Count |      |
|----------|-------|------|
| £ 0      | 1     | *    |
| 5        | 3     | ***  |
| 10       | 2     | **   |
| 15       | 1     | *    |
| 20       | 2     | **   |
| 25       | 0     |      |
| 30       | 0     |      |
| 35       | 4     | **** |
| 40       | 1     | *    |
| 45       | 1     | *    |



TABLE 6

HISTOGRAM OF PRICE AS A TOTAL FOR FLEMISH PAINTING IN SAMPLES I & II  
A Summary of the Lists of Priced Paintings in Appendix 6

|    | N   | MEAN  | MEDIAN | TRMEAN | STDEV | SEMEAN |
|----|-----|-------|--------|--------|-------|--------|
| C8 | 31  | 25.0  | 4.3    | 7.0    | 98.0  | 17.6   |
|    | MIN | MAX   | Q1     | Q3     |       |        |
| C8 | 0.4 | 551.2 | 1.6    | 14.7   |       |        |

Histogram of C8 N = 31

| Midpoint | Count |       |
|----------|-------|-------|
| £ 0      | 29    | ***** |
| 50       | 1     | *     |
| 100      | 0     |       |
| 150      | 0     |       |
| 200      | 0     |       |
| 250      | 0     |       |
| 300      | 0     |       |
| 350      | 0     |       |
| 400      | 0     |       |
| 450      | 0     |       |
| 500      | 0     |       |
| 550      | 1     | *     |

TABLE 6 (a) \*

HISTOGRAM OF TOTAL FLEMISH PAINTING

\* A Summary of Table 6 above, eliminating the exceptionally high value at Midpoint 550 (Pounds)

MEAN  
7.51  
N = 30

| Midpoint | Count |       |
|----------|-------|-------|
| £ 0      | 16    | ***** |
| 5        | 5     | ***** |
| 10       | 2     | **    |
| 15       | 3     | ***   |
| 20       | 3     | ***   |
| 25       | 0     |       |
| 30       | 0     |       |
| 35       | 1     | *     |
| 40       | 0     |       |
| 45       | 0     |       |
| 50       | 0     |       |

TABLE 7

HISTOGRAM OF PRICE AS A TOTAL FOR FRENCH PAINTING IN SAMPLES I & II  
A Summary of the Lists of Priced Paintings in Appendix 6

|    | N    | MEAN  | MEDIAN | TRMEAN | STDEV | SEMEAN |
|----|------|-------|--------|--------|-------|--------|
| C8 | 52   | 16.59 | 8.25   | 13.91  | 18.73 | 2.60   |
|    | MIN  | MAX   | Q1     | Q3     |       |        |
| C8 | 2.05 | 89.25 | 4.35   | 19.46  |       |        |

Histogram of C8 N = 52

| Midpoint | Count |       |
|----------|-------|-------|
| £ 0      | 14    | ***** |
| 10       | 19    | ***** |
| 20       | 8     | ***** |
| 30       | 1     | *     |
| 40       | 7     | ***** |
| 50       | 1     | *     |
| 60       | 0     |       |
| 70       | 0     |       |
| 80       | 1     | *     |
| 90       | 1     | *     |

TABLE 8

HISTOGRAM OF PRICE AS A TOTAL FOR GERMAN PAINTING IN SAMPLES I & II  
A Summary of the Lists of Priced Paintings in Appendix 6

|    | N    | MEAN  | MEDIAN | TRMEAN | STDEV | SEMEAN |
|----|------|-------|--------|--------|-------|--------|
| C8 | 7    | 8.47  | 9.97   | 8.47   | 5.88  | 2.22   |
|    | MIN  | MAX   | Q1     | Q3     |       |        |
| C8 | 1.60 | 15.75 | 2.05   | 14.70  |       |        |

Histogram of C8 N = 7

| Midpoint | Count |    |
|----------|-------|----|
| £ 2      | 2     | ** |
| 4        | 1     | *  |
| 6        | 0     |    |
| 8        | 0     |    |
| 10       | 1     | *  |
| 12       | 1     | *  |
| 14       | 1     | *  |
| 16       | 1     | *  |

TABLE 9

HISTOGRAM OF PRICE AS A TOTAL FOR BRITISH PAINTING IN SAMPLES I & II  
A Summary of the Lists of Priced Paintings in Appendix 6

|    | N    | MEAN  | MEDIAN | TRMEAN | STDEV | SEMEAN |
|----|------|-------|--------|--------|-------|--------|
| C8 | 11   | 5.20  | 4.00   | 4.49   | 4.63  | 1.39   |
|    | MIN  | MAX   | Q1     | Q3     |       |        |
| C8 | 1.05 | 15.75 | 1.70   | 7.00   |       |        |

Histogram of C8 N = 11

| Midpoint | Count |      |
|----------|-------|------|
| £ 2      | 4     | **** |
| 4        | 3     | ***  |
| 6        | 1     | *    |
| 8        | 1     | *    |
| 10       | 0     |      |
| 12       | 1     | *    |
| 14       | 0     |      |
| 16       | 1     | *    |

**APPENDIX D**

Summary of Prices Paid for Paintings 1711 - 1759

Sample 1 and 2 of the Houlditch Sales Catalogues

(Victoria and Albert Museum)

A Summary of Prices Paid for Seventeenth Century Dutch Landscape Painting 1710 - 1760

Prices are in Pounds, shillings and pence as quoted in the Houlditch catalogues. There are some missing values indicated by a broken line. Names are in chronological order following the discussion in the text above. Two random samples were drawn from the Houlditch Sales Catalogues (1711-1759), Victoria and Albert Museum Library, identified as (1) and (2) below. Artists have been placed in synchronic order according to date of birth.

| Artist   | Seller        | Lot No. | Title  | 1710-1720 | 1721-1730 | 1731-1740 | 1741-1750 | 1751-1760 | Purchased by            |
|--|---------------|---------|--|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------------------|
| <hr/>  |               |         |  |           |           |           |           |           |                         |
| Italianate-Dutch :   |               |         |  |           |           |           |           |           |                         |
| <hr/>  |               |         |  |           |           |           |           |           |                         |
| Abraham Bloemart (Dordrecht c.1564-Utrecht 1658)                 |               |         |  |           |           |           |           |           |                         |
| <hr/>  |               |         |  |           |           |           |           |           |                         |
| Roelant Savery (Cortrai 1576 - Utrecht 1639)                     |               |         |  |           |           |           |           |           |                         |
| (1)1744/5+ii   | Mr. Paris     | # 62    | The Creation                                       |           |           |           | 7,07,0    |           | Mr Crispin              |
| (2)1748  | Mr. Langford  | # 39    | A landsc. with cattle                              |           |           |           | -----     |           |                         |
| (2)1756  | Mr Mendez     | # 29    | The Creation                                       |           |           |           |           | 3,08,0    |                         |
| <hr/>  |               |         |  |           |           |           |           |           |                         |
| Cornelis Poelenburgh (Utrecht 1586(?)-1667)                      |               |         |  |           |           |           |           |           |                         |
| (1)1731+ii   | Mr Jett       | # 199   | A landscape with a waterfall                       |           |           | ----      |           |           |                         |
| (2)1738  | Mr Paris      | # 59    | A landscape  |           |           | 4,04,0    |           |           | Smith                   |
| (2)1751+ii   | Major         | # 28    | A small landsc. with figures                       |           |           |           |           | 5,00,0    | Coleraime for           |
| (2)1757+ii   | Rongent       | # 30    | A landscape with figures                           |           |           |           |           | 2,12,6    | Gen. Cholmondeley Crane |
| <hr/>  |               |         |  |           |           |           |           |           |                         |
| Pieter van Laer (called Il Bamboccio) (Haarlem 1592/95 - ? 1642) |               |         |  |           |           |           |           |           |                         |
| (1)1717/18   | John Verelst  | # 11    | A landscape  |           |           | ----      |           |           |                         |
| <hr/>  |               |         |  |           |           |           |           |           |                         |
| J.C.Keirincx, (Antwerp 1600-Amsterdam 1652 ?)                    |               |         |  |           |           |           |           |           |                         |
| (1)1744/5+1  | Mr Glover     | # 71    | A landsc. with figures by Poelenburgh (see Vertue) |           |           |           | ----      |           |                         |
| <hr/>  |               |         |  |           |           |           |           |           |                         |
| Pieter van Laer (called Il Bamboccio) (Haarlem 1592/95 - ? 1642) |               |         |  |           |           |           |           |           |                         |
| (1)1717/18   | John Verelst  | # 11    | A landscape  |           |           | ----      |           |           |                         |
| <hr/>  |               |         |  |           |           |           |           |           |                         |
| Jan Asselijn (Dienen c.1615-Amsterdam 1652)                      |               |         |  |           |           |           |           |           |                         |
| (1)1740+1  | Mr Paris      | # 33    | A view   |           |           | 11,00,6   |           |           | Mr. L. Irwin            |
| <hr/>  |               |         |  |           |           |           |           |           |                         |
| Cornelis Saftleven (Gorinchem 1607-Rotterdam 1681)               |               |         |  |           |           |           |           |           |                         |
| (2)1750+ii   | Bragge        | # 21    | A view through a window                            |           |           |           | 3,03,0    |           | Mr. Barnard             |
| <hr/>  |               |         |  |           |           |           |           |           |                         |
| Herman Swanevelt (Voerden 1600-Paris 1655)                       |               |         |  |           |           |           |           |           |                         |
| (1)1741+i  | Mac Eune      | # 11    | A landscape with a fountain                        |           |           |           | 2,14,0    |           |                         |
| (1)1754  | Mr. Blackwood | # 44    | A fine landsc.                                     |           |           |           |           | 17,17,0   |                         |
| (2)1742+iv   | Lord Orford   | # 16    | A landscape with figures, a companion to # 15      |           |           |           | 7,12,0    |           | Anderson                |
| (2)1753  | Bragge        | # 12    | A woman passing a river                            |           |           |           |           | 0,18,0    |                         |

Seventeenth century Dutch landscape...continued

| Artist  | Seller                                   | Lot No. Title  | 1710-1720 | 1721-1730 | 1731-1740 | 1741-1750 | 1751-1760 | Purchased by     |
|---|--|--|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------------|
| (2)1758   | Dr Bragge                                | # 05 A landscape                                       |           |           |           |           | 1,07,0    |                  |
| (2) ?   | Mr van Haacken                           | # 60 A landscape with figures £4,05,0                  |           |           |           |           |           |                  |
| Jan Both (Utrecht 1618 (?) -1652)   |  |  |           |           |           |           |           |                  |
| (1)1739   | Andrew Hay                               | # 6 A landsc. with figures                             |           |           | 2,07,6    |           |           | Bott & Bodwyn    |
| (1)1756+ii  | At Prestages                             | # 85 A landsc. with figures                            |           |           |           |           | ----      | Bott & Bodwyn    |
| (2)1743/4+ii  | Mr. Paris                                | # 34 A landsc. with figures                            |           |           | 22,01,0   |           |           | Forth            |
| Philips Wouverman (Haarlem 1619-1668)                                       |  |  |           |           |           |           |           |                  |
| (2)1758+iii   | Sr. Luke Schaub                          | # 41 A landsc. with figures & horses                   |           |           |           |           | 39,18,0   | Gascoigne        |
| Nicholaes Berchem (Haarlem 1620-Amsterdam 1683)                             |  |  |           |           |           |           |           |                  |
| (1)1742/3   | J. van Spangen                           | #134 A round landsc with cattle                        |           |           |           | 2,12,6    |           |                  |
| (1)1746+ii  | Mrs M. Edwards                           | #106 A landsc. with nymphs & satyrs                    |           |           |           | 5,05,0    |           |                  |
| (1)1751+ii  | Lord Orford                              | # 96 A landsc. with figures & cattle                   |           |           |           |           | 8,12,6    | Pinchbeck        |
| (1)1759   | Mr Kent's sale of Sigr. Borri's pictures | # 25 A landsc. with figures & cattle                   |           |           |           |           | 4,05,0    | Mr. Wood         |
| (2)1755   | Owen Mc Swinney                          | # 4 A landsc. & cattle                                 |           |           |           |           | ----      |                  |
| (2)1727   | Mr. de Voss                              | #127 A landsc. & cattle                                |           |           | ---       |           |           |                  |
| (2) ?   | Mr Gibbons                               | # 25 An evening landsc.                                |           |           |           |           |           |                  |
| (2)1714   | Mr Motteux                               | # 24 A landscape & cattle                              |           | ----      |           |           |           |                  |
| (2)1760   | J. Blackwood                             | # 58 A moonlight                                       |           |           |           |           | 8,08,0    | Sr. R. Grosvenor |
| Jan Baptiste Veenix (Amsterdam 1621-Huis ter Mey (?) 1660 ?) (semi-landsc.) |  |  |           |           |           |           |           |                  |
| (2)1714+ii  | Mr Motteux                               | # 64 A seaport, architect. a caravan & Veenix's family |           | ----      |           |           |           |                  |
| Jan Wijnants (Haarlem 1630-Amsterdam 1684)                                  |  |  |           |           |           |           |           |                  |
| (2)1750/1+ii  | Mr Blackwood                             | # 44 A landscape with ruins & figures                  |           |           |           |           | 4,04,0    | Andrews          |
|   |  | # 45 Its companion                                     |           |           |           |           | 4,15,0    | Andrews          |
| (2)1757+ii  | Dr Bragge                                | # 45 A landscape, with figures by A. van de Velde.     |           |           |           |           | 10,10,0   | Banks            |
| Pieter Vouwermans (b. ? - 1683)   |  |  |           |           |           |           |           |                  |
| (2)1756+ii  | Dr Bragge                                | # 19 A landscape                                       |           |           |           |           | 4,17,0    |                  |
| Johannes Vorstermans (b. Bomel 1643 - d. Poland 1699)                       |  |  |           |           |           |           |           |                  |
| (2)1733   | Mr Sykes (pter.)                         | # 71 A landscape                                       |           |           | ----      |           |           |                  |

### Seventeenth century Dutch landscape...continued

| Artist   | Seller                     | Lot No. Title                                  | 1710-1720 | 1721-1730 | 1731-1740 | 1741-1750 | 1751-1760 | Purchased by |
|--|----------------------------|--|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|
| Isaac Vogelsang/Vogelsanck (b. Amsterdam 1688 - d. London 1753)        |                            |  |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| (2)1756+ii   | James Gibbs<br>(Architect) | # 7 A landscape with<br>cattle                 |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| Daniel Vertangen (b. The Hague 1598 - ? ) [disciple of Poelenburgh]    |                            |  |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| (2)1757+ii   | Mr Blackwood               | # 34 A landscape with<br>nymphs & satyrs       |           |           |           |           | 3.03.0    |              |
| Nicholaes Edema (b. Friesland 1666 - d. London 1722)                   |                            |  |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| (2) 1731   | Lord Ranelagh              | #103 A landscape                               |           |           | ----      |           |           |              |
| Jakob de Heusch (called Affdruck) (b. Utrecht 1657- d. Amsterdam 1701) |                            |  |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| (2)1755+ii   | Bragge                     | # 4 A landscape with<br>figures by Poelenburgh |           |           |           |           | 5.00.0    |              |
| Adriaen van Diest (b. The Hague 1655 - d. London 1704 )                |                            |  |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| (2)1747+ii   | Mr Richardson              | # 25 A landscape with<br>figures by Berchett.  |           |           |           | 2.03.0    |           | Yahonan      |



Seventeenth century Dutch Landscape ...continued

| Artist   | Seller          | Lot No. | Title  | 1710-1720 | 1721-1730 | 1731-1740 | 1741-1750 | 1751-1760 | Purchased by          |
|--|-----------------|---------|--|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------------------|
| Naturalistic landsc.;  |                 |         |  |           |           |           |           |           |                       |
| Arent Arentz, (called Van der Cabel(?) 1585/86 - Amsterdam (?) before 1635). |                 |         |  |           |           |           |           |           |                       |
| (1)1716  | Sr. Robt. Gayer | # 61    | A landscape  | ----      |           |           |           |           |                       |
| Lucas van Uden (Antwerp 1595-1672)   |                 |         |  |           |           |           |           |           |                       |
| (1)1744/5+ii   | Mr. Glover      | # 99    | A landscape  |           |           |           | ----      |           |                       |
| (1)1756+ii   | Mr Scheemaker   | # 24    | A landsc. with figures                               |           |           |           |           | ----      |                       |
| Aert van der Neer (Gorinchem 1603/04-Amsterdam 1677)                         |                 |         |  |           |           |           |           |           |                       |
| (1)1754  | Mr. da Costa    | # 52    | A moonlight  |           |           |           |           | ----      |                       |
| (1)1758+ii   | Ld. Pomfret,    | #114    | A moonlight  |           |           |           |           | ----      |                       |
|  | Ld. Baltimore,  |         |  |           |           |           |           |           |                       |
|  | & Blackwood     |         |  |           |           |           |           |           |                       |
| (2)1755  | Mr Bragge       | # 20    | A winter evening, with figures by Ostade             |           |           |           |           | 12,12,0   | M. Walters            |
| (2)1756+ii   | Mr.de Pestors   | # 29    | A morning  |           |           |           |           | 47,05,0   | Townsend              |
| Esaias van de Velde (b. Amsterdam bef.1590 - d. The Hague 1630)              |                 |         |  |           |           |           |           |           |                       |
| (2)1755  | Menageot        | # 6     | A winter piece, figures skating                      |           |           |           |           |           |                       |
| Jan van Goyen (Leyden 1596-The Hague 1656)                                   |                 |         |  |           |           |           |           |           |                       |
| (1)1738/9+iv   | Mr Paris        | #107    | A landsc. with figures by van Goyen and van der Meer |           |           | 4,15,0    |           |           | Mr Wyndae             |
| (2)1749/51   | Jo. van Haecken | # 11    | A landsc. with figures                               |           |           |           |           | 1,11,6    | Bragge                |
| Paulus Potter (b. Enkhuizen 1625 - d. Amsterdam 1654)                        |                 |         |  |           |           |           |           |           |                       |
| (2)1748/9+ii   | Bragge          | # 64    | A hunting  |           |           |           | 4,06,0    |           | Sir William Beauchamp |
| Salomon van Ruysdael (Naarden 1602/03-Haarlem 1670)                          |                 |         |  |           |           |           |           |           |                       |
| (1)1750/1+iii  | Bragge          | #146    | A landscape with figures                             |           |           |           | 7,07,0    |           | Mr. O. Bryan          |
| (1)1757+ii   | Dr. Bragge      | # 81    | A sea piece  |           |           |           | 7,17,6    |           |                       |
| (2)1755  | Owen McSwinnay  | # 44    | A Dutch view   |           |           |           | ----      |           |                       |
| (2)1756+ii   | Rongent         | # 39    | A View   |           |           |           | 6,06,0    |           | Mr Dallon             |
| Jacob van Ruysdael Haarlem 1628-1682)  |                 |         |  |           |           |           |           |           |                       |
| (1)1748/9+ii   | Mr.Langford     | # 73    | A Small landsc.                                      |           |           |           | 5,00,0    |           |                       |
| (1)1748/9+ii   | Mr.Langford     | #113    | A frostpiece   |           |           |           | 18,18,0   |           |                       |
| (1)1748/9  | Mr. Blackwood   | # 63    | A landscape, a waterfall                             |           |           |           | 6,10,0    |           | Mr Knobs              |
| (1)1750/1  | Bragge          | # 26    | A water mill   |           |           |           | 4,10,0    |           |                       |
| (1)1757+ii   | Mr Blackwood    | #127    | A waterfall  |           |           |           | \$21,00,0 |           | Mr Carv               |
| Meindert Hobbema (Amsterdam 1638-1709)                                       |                 |         |  |           |           |           |           |           |                       |
| (1)1750+ii   | Bragge's sale   | # 46    | A landscape  |           |           |           | 9,19,6    |           |                       |

Seventeenth century Dutch landscape...continued

| Artist  | Seller                | Lot No. Title                                    | 1710-1720 | 1721-1730 | 1731-1740 | 1741-1750 | 1751-1760 | Purchased by  |
|---|-----------------------|--|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|---------------|
| Adriaen van de Velde (Amsterdam 1636-1672)                    |                       |  |           |           |           |           |           |               |
| (1)1743+i   | Bragge's sale         | # 03 Two landscapes with figures & cattle        |           |           |           | 2,12.6    |           |               |
| (1)1748+iii   | John van Spangen      | # 52 Two landscapes                              |           |           |           | 17,17.0   |           |               |
| (2)1741/2   | Mr Paris              | # 26 A landsc. & figures                         |           |           |           | 12,00.0   |           | Mr. Rolle     |
| Cornelis Gerritsz Decker ((?) Working 1640-01 Haarlem 1678)   |                       |  |           |           |           |           |           |               |
| (1)1749+i   | Langford              | # 33 A landscape with figures by Ostade          |           |           |           | 6,10.0    |           |               |
| (2)1758+ii  | Bragge                | # 55 A landsc. with figures by Vouwermans        |           |           |           | 12,12.0   |           |               |
| (2) "   | "                     | # 56 Its companion - figures by Teniers          |           |           |           | 2,02.0    |           | Mr. Suymer    |
| Dutch Landscape Artists in England.                           |                       |  |           |           |           |           |           |               |
| Abraham Hondius (Rotterdam c.1625/30-London 1691/95)          |                       |  |           |           |           |           |           |               |
| (1)1722+i   | van Huls              | #183 A boar hunting                              | £9,09.0   |           |           |           |           |               |
| (2)1751+ii  | Lord Orford           | # 24 Stag hunting-large.                         |           |           |           | 15,00.0   |           | Mr Blakiston  |
| (2) "   | "                     | # 25 Its companion-boar hunting                  |           |           |           | 25,14.6   |           | Lord Belfield |
| Thomas Wijck (Bever Wijk 1616-Haarlem 1677)                   |                       |  |           |           |           |           |           |               |
| Jan Wijck (Haarlem 1640-Mortlake 1702)                        |                       |  |           |           |           |           |           |               |
| (1)1722+i   | Mr Williamson         | # 54 A Turkish battle                            |           | ----      |           |           |           |               |
| (2)1747   | Mr Richardson         | # 1 An evening                                   |           |           |           | 0,17.0    |           | Dr. Chauncey  |
| (2)1757   | Mr Thom. Hart in part | # 45 Siege of Rhodes                             |           |           |           | 21,00.0   |           | Mr Beckford   |
| Jan Griffier called Old Griffier (Amsterdam 1645-London 1718) |                       |  |           |           |           |           |           |               |
| (1)1725+i   | Christopher Cock      | # 19 A landsc. with figures & cattle pictures    |           | ----      |           |           |           |               |
| (1)1752+ii  | Prestages             | # 66 A landsc. with cattle                       |           |           |           | ----      |           |               |
| (2)?  | Sr. Peter Gleane      | # 74 A view of Brussels - £8,00.0                |           |           |           |           |           | Dr. Chauncey  |
| (2)?  | Mr Griffier           | # 22 A landsc. in the manner of Elsheimer - ---- |           |           |           |           |           |               |

A Summary of Prices Paid for Dutch Genre and low-life painting 1710 - 1760

Prices are in Pounds, shillings and pence as quoted in the Houlditch catalogues. There are some missing values indicated by a broken line. Names are in chronological order following the discussion in the text above. Two random samples were drawn from the Houlditch Sales Catalogues (1711-1759), Victoria and Albert Museum Library, identified as (1) and (2) below. Artists have been placed in synchronic order according to date of birth.

| Artist  | Seller            | Lot No. | Title                             | 1710-1720 | 1721-1730 | 1731-1740 | 1741-1750 | 1751-1760 | Purchased by |
|---|-------------------|---------|-----------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|
| Date of Sale  |                   |         |                                   |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| <hr/>   |                   |         |                                   |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| David Vinckeboons (b. Mechlin 1578- d. Amsterdam 1692)              |                   |         |                                   |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| (2) ?   | Sir William Willy | # 17    | A fair (no price)                 |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| <hr/>   |                   |         |                                   |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| Frans Hals (Antwerp c.1580 ?- Haarlem 1666)                         |                   |         |                                   |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| (1)1731+ii  | Mr Jett           | #159    | A toothdrawer                     |           |           | ---       |           |           |              |
| (2)1750   | Baron de Vicq     | # 66    | A fisherman with his basket       |           |           |           | ----      |           |              |
| (2)1750   | . Bragge          | # 26    | A woman                           |           |           |           |           | 1,07.0    |              |
| <hr/>   |                   |         |                                   |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| Cornelis Poelenburgh (Utrecht 1586-1667)                            |                   |         |                                   |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| (1)1745+ii  | Mr Huggins        | # 80    | A woman making a pen              |           |           |           | ----      |           |              |
| <hr/>   |                   |         |                                   |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| Antonio Palamedes (b. Delft 1601- d. Amsterdam 1673)                |                   |         |                                   |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| (1)1754+ii  | Lord Coleraine    | # 39    | A conversation                    |           |           |           |           | ----      |              |
| (2)1758+ii  | Rongent           | # 21    | A conversation, oval              |           |           |           |           | 1,17.0    | Howard       |
| <hr/>   |                   |         |                                   |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| Rembrandt van Rijn (Leiden 1606-Amsterdam 1669)                     |                   |         |                                   |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| (1)1744+ii  | Mr. Paris         | # 48    | A nun threading a needle          |           |           |           | 16,16.0   |           |              |
| (1)1745   | Mr. Glover        | # 19    | An old woman at devotion          |           |           |           | ----      |           |              |
| (2)1756   | Mr. Blackwood     | # 60    | A woman in the water her coats up |           |           |           |           | 19,08.6   | Raymond      |
| <hr/>   |                   |         |                                   |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| Jan Miensz. Molinaer (Leiden 1610-1668)                             |                   |         |                                   |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| (1)1747+iii   | Josiah Burchett   | #220    | A conversation of Boors           |           |           |           | ----      |           |              |
| (2)1727   | Mr de Voss        | # 87    | A merry making                    |           | ----      |           |           |           |              |
| <hr/>   |                   |         |                                   |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| Adriaen van Ostade (Haarlem 1610-1685)                              |                   |         |                                   |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| (2)1750+ii  | Baron de Vicq     | #105    | A woman drinking                  |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| (2) "   | "                 | #106    | Its companion, a man drinking     |           |           |           | ----      |           |              |
| <hr/>   |                   |         |                                   |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| Gerard Dou (Leiden 1613-1375)                                       |                   |         |                                   |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| (1)1749+ii  | Baron de Vicq     | # 42    | An old woman smoking              |           |           |           | ----      |           |              |
| (1)1755+ii  | Sir John Austin   | # 48    | A friar reading                   |           |           |           |           | ----      |              |
| <hr/>   |                   |         |                                   |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| Ferdinand Bol (b. Dordrecht 1616 - Amsterdam 1680)                  |                   |         |                                   |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| (2)1745   | Mr Glover         | #139    | A musical conversation            |           |           |           | ----      |           |              |
| <hr/>   |                   |         |                                   |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| Jan Baptist Veenix (b. Amsterdam 1621 - d. 1663)                    |                   |         |                                   |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| (2)1759   | Rongent           | # 57    | Boys riding on a goat             |           |           |           |           | 13,06.0   |              |
| <hr/>   |                   |         |                                   |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| Johannes Lingelbach (b. Frankfurt am Main c. 1624 - Amsterdam 1674) |                   |         |                                   |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| (2)1722   | Mr van Huis       | # 89    | A farriers shop in Rome           |           |           | 9,00.0    |           |           |              |

Dutch genre...continued

| Artist<br>Date of Sale  | Seller   | Lot No. Title                                    | 1710-1720 | 1721-1730 | 1731-1740 | 1741-1750 | 1751-1760 | Purchased by    |
|---|--|--|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------------|
| Jacob Esselens (Amsterdam 1626 - Amsterdam 1687)                    |  |  |           |           |           |           |           |                 |
| (2)1749   | Bragge   | # 24 A lady &<br>gentleman fishing               |           |           |           | 5,15,6    |           | Duke of Rutland |
| Gabriel Metsu (Leiden 1629 - Amsterdam 1667)                        |  |  |           |           |           |           |           |                 |
| (2)1722   | Mr. van Huls   | #129 Ladies in their<br>bed-chamber              |           | 52,10,0   |           |           |           |                 |
| Johan le Ducq (1629/30- ?)  |  |  |           |           |           |           |           |                 |
| (1)1751+11  | Blackwood  | # 47 A conversation                              |           |           |           | 5,12,6    |           | Mr Gardiner     |
| (2)1751+11  | Bragge   | # 38 A small<br>conversation                     |           |           |           | 6,06,0    |           |                 |
| Egbert van Heeckeren (Haarlem c. 1634 - London 1704)                |  |  |           |           |           |           |           |                 |
| (2) ?   | At the Green Door<br>Little Piazza,<br>Covent Garden | # 97 A conversation (No price)                   |           |           |           |           |           |                 |
| (2)1746+1   | Mrs Mary Edwards                                     | # 48 A merry making                              |           |           |           | 2,03,6    |           | Mr. Brown       |
| (2) "   | " " "  | # 88 A merry making                              |           |           |           | 2,15,0    |           |                 |
| Frans van Mieris (Leiden 1635 - Leiden 1681)                        |  |  |           |           |           |           |           |                 |
| (2)1755   | Prestages  | # 41 Figures with a<br>hare & other dead<br>game |           |           |           | 10,12,0   |           |                 |
| (2)1758   | Sir Luke Schaub                                      | # 38 A small oval picture<br>of a boy with a jug |           |           |           | 6,10,0    |           | Lord Anson      |
| Caspar Netscher, (Heidelberg (?) 1635/6 (?) - The Hague 1684)       |  |  |           |           |           |           |           |                 |
| (1)1741   | Mr Glover  | #163 Two small pictures<br>of boys               |           |           |           | 3,06,0    |           |                 |
| Gottfried Schalken (Maastricht 1643 - The Hague 1706)               |  |  |           |           |           |           |           |                 |
| (1)1722   | van Huls   | #103 A woman with a dog                          |           | 11,11,0   |           |           |           |                 |
| (1)1715   | 'Three Chairs'                                       | # 15 A woman with a<br>lantern                   |           | ----      |           |           |           |                 |
| (2)Quiryn Brekelenkam (b. near Leyden, working 1648 - d. aft. 1669) |  |  |           |           |           |           |           |                 |
| (2)1749   | Bragge   | # 39 Inside a boor's house                       |           |           |           | 2,13,0    |           | Boves           |
| Cornelis Dusart (b. Haarlem 1660 - Haarlem 1704)                    |  |  |           |           |           |           |           |                 |
| (2)1758   | Duke of Rutland                                      | # 42 A merry making                              |           |           |           | 12,01,6   |           | Reynolds        |

A Summary of Prices Paid for Seventeenth Century Dutch Portrait painting 1710 - 1760  
Prices are in Pounds, shillings and pence as quoted in the Houlditch catalogues. There are some missing values indicated by a broken line. Names are in chronological order following the discussion in the text above. Two random samples were drawn from the Houlditch Sales Catalogues(1711-1759), Victoria and Albert Museum Library, identified as (1) and (2) below. Artists have been placed in synchronic order according to date of birth.

| Artist   | Seller   | Lot No. | Title   | 1710-1720 | 1721-1730 | 1731-1740 | 1741-1750 | 1751-1760 | Purchased by        |
|--|--|---------|---|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|---------------------|
| <b>Michiel Miereveld (Delft 1567 - Delft 1641)</b>                               |  |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                     |
| (2)1739+11   | Mr. Norton   | # 82    | A nobleman's head                               |           |           | 2,06,0    |           |           |                     |
| <b>Frans Hals (Antwerp (?) c. 1580 ? - Haarlem 1666)</b>                         |  |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                     |
| (1)1745+i  | Mr Huggins   | # 40    | A boys head                                     |           |           |           | ---       |           |                     |
| (2)1748+11   | Mr. Blackwood  | # 33    | A man's head, small 3/4                         |           |           |           | 4,06,6    |           | Mr. Money           |
| <b>Cornelis Jonson van Ceulen (London 1593- Utrecht/Amsterdam 1661/2) ?</b>      |  |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                     |
| (1)1755 +1   | Blackwood  | # 10    | A Lady, 3/4 length                              |           |           |           |           | 2,03,0    | Collivoe            |
| (2)1744  | Lady Falklands   | # 66    | Ld. Chief Baron Tanfield, whole-length          |           |           |           | ----      |           |                     |
| (2)1754+111  | Lord Pomfret   | # 20    | Mrs Rogers                                      |           |           |           |           | 0,13,0    |                     |
| <b>Rembrandt van Rijn (Leiden 1606 - Amsterdam 1669)</b>                         |  |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                     |
| (1)1754+11   | Dr. Mead   | # 39    | Self Portrait                                   |           |           |           |           | 12,01,6   | Hudson (see Vertue) |
| (1)1739  | Mr Norton  | # 49    | A lady's head                                   |           |           | 3,19,0    |           |           |                     |
| (1)1741  | Mr Glover  | #123    | An Old woman's head                             |           |           |           | 2,08,0    |           |                     |
| (1)1755+11   | Blackwood  | # 36    | A man, 3/4 length                               |           |           |           |           | 9,09,0    | Mr Brown            |
| (1)1744+111  | Mr Glover  | #203    | Ernest Prince of Orange, and its companion      |           |           |           | 6,11,0    |           | Mr Burgess          |
| (2)1744  | At Ford's  | # 56    | A young man's head                              |           |           |           | ----      |           |                     |
| (2)1745  | Glover   | # 99    | A courtesan and Duegna, a disciple of Rembrandt |           |           |           | ----      |           |                     |
| (2)1756+11   | At Prestages   | # 38    | A Dutch magistrate                              |           |           |           |           | ----      |                     |
| (2)17 ?  | Mr. de Bary  | # 35    | A man's head (no price)                         |           |           |           |           |           |                     |
| <b>Jan Lievens (Leiden 1607 - Amsterdam 1674)</b>                                |  |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                     |
| (2)1741  | Mr Glover  | #131    | A girl's head                                   |           |           |           | 2,16,0    |           |                     |
| <b>Govaert Flinck (Cleves 1615 - Amsterdam 1660)</b>                             |  |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                     |
| (2)1757  | Mr. Blackwood  | # 65    | A lady, 3/4 length                              |           |           |           |           | 15,15,0   |                     |
| <b>Pieter Lely (van der Faes)(Soest 1618 - London 1680); trained in Holland.</b> |  |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                     |
| (2)17 ?+viii   | Charles Jervas   | #575    | The Duchess of Richmond (no price)              |           |           |           |           |           |                     |
| (2)1744  | At Chris. Cock, Sr. J. Rawlinson Bragge, Scaven Blackwood & Huggins. | # 15    | The Duke of Portsmouth, an original 3/4 length  |           |           |           | 14,13,6   |           |                     |
| (2)1750  | Jos. van Maecken   | # 51    | Mrs Frankland a large 3/4 length                |           |           |           | 15,15,0   |           | Mr. Ecker           |
| (2) ?  | Mr Gouge   | # 45    | The old Earl of Ormond, 3/4 length              |           |           |           |           |           |                     |

A Summary of Prices Paid for Italian Landscape Painting 1710-1760

Prices are in Pounds, shillings and pence as quoted in the Houlditch Sales Catalogues. There are some missing values indicated by a broken line. Names are in chronological order following the discussion in the text above. Two random samples were drawn from the Houlditch Sales Catalogues (1711-1759), Victoria and Albert Museum Library, identified as (1) and (2) below. Artists have been placed in synchronic order according to date of birth.

| Artist<br>Sale Date   | Seller                              | Lot No. | Title   | 1710-1720 | 1721-1740 | 1741-1750 | 1750-1760 | Purchased by    |
|---|-------------------------------------|---------|---|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------------|
| Frederico Zuccaro (S. Angelo in Vado 1540 - Ancona 1609)                                    |                                     |         |   |           |           |           |           |                 |
| (1)1755?+ii   | Rongent                             | # 8     | A Bacchanalian triumph  |           |           |           | 6.08.6    | Blackwood       |
| 'Il Gobbo dei Carracci' (Pietro Paolo Bonzi) (Cortina c.1571- Rome c.1635)                  |                                     |         |   |           |           |           |           |                 |
| (1) 1751 +i   | Lord Orford                         | # 50    | A landscape & figures   |           |           |           | 3.04.0    |                 |
| Francesco Lauri (1610-1635)   |                                     |         |   |           |           |           |           |                 |
| (1)1743+ii  | Andrew Hay                          | # 45    | Set of Seasons-Summer   |           |           | 28.07.0   |           |                 |
| Francesco Mola (Coldrerio 1612 - Rome 1666)   |                                     |         |   |           |           |           |           |                 |
| (2)1735+ii  | James Thornhill                     | # 82    | Two round landscs.  |           | 6.08.6    |           |           |                 |
| (2)1740+1   | Charles Jervas                      | # 53    | A landsc. with<br>St. Francis                                   |           | 4.14.6    |           |           |                 |
| (2)1747+1   | Mr. Richardson                      | # 41    | A vintage   |           |           | 1.14.6    |           | Duke of Rutland |
| Salvator Rosa ( Naples 1615- Rome 1673)   |                                     |         |   |           |           |           |           |                 |
| (1)1743   | John van Spangen                    | # 95    | St. Anthony preaching to<br>Satyr's                             |           |           | 6.15.0    |           |                 |
| (2)1714   | Mr. Motteux                         | # 76    | A landsc. & figures<br>in the manner of S.Rosa                  | ----      | ----      |           |           |                 |
| 2)1739+ii   | Mr. Norton                          | #130    | A landsc. after S.Rosa  |           |           |           |           |                 |
| (2)1757   | Mr. Blackwood                       | # 25    | A battle  |           |           |           | 6.10.0    |                 |
| (2)1758   | Mr. Fauquier                        | # 41    | A landsc. with figures  |           |           |           | 6.06.0    | D. Grafton      |
| (see also biblical histories below)   |                                     |         |   |           |           |           |           |                 |
| B. Castiglione (called Il Benedetto) (Genoa 1616- Mantua 1670)                              |                                     |         |   |           |           |           |           |                 |
| (2) ' +1  | Mr. Burroughs                       | # 78    | A landsc. with<br>figures & cattle (capital)                    |           | £9.00.0   |           |           |                 |
| (2)1754+ii  | Mr. Rongent                         | # 51    | Cattle  |           |           |           | 5.10.0    |                 |
| Giovanni Ghisolfi (Milan 1627 -1683)  |                                     |         |   |           |           |           |           |                 |
| (1) 1744 +iii   | Dr. Bragge                          | # 35    | Ruins & figures   |           |           | 5.07.6    |           |                 |
| Franceschini of Bologna (Cavaliere Marc Antonio Franceschini) (Bologna 1648 - Bologna 1729) |                                     |         |   |           |           |           |           |                 |
| (2)1744 +iii  | Bragge                              | # 45    | The four seasons  |           |           | 115.10.0  |           | Lord Foley      |
| (See also Allegorical subjects)   |                                     |         |   |           |           |           |           |                 |
| Rosa of Tivoli (Philipp Peter Roos) (Frankfurt 1657- Rome 1706)                             |                                     |         |   |           |           |           |           |                 |
| (1)1742+ii  | Mr. Paris                           | # 9     | A landscape with figures  |           |           | 5.05.0    |           | Duke of Bedford |
| (1)1743   | John van Spangen                    | #174    | A landscape with cattle,<br>and its companion                   |           |           | £57.15.0  |           |                 |
| 1)1757+1<br>(in part)   | Thomas Hart                         | # 42    | A landscape with figures<br>and cattle                          |           |           |           | 7.07.0    | Charles Jenners |
| (2)1743   | John van Spangen                    | #174    | (Same as sample I above)  |           |           |           |           |                 |
| Spagnolo di Bologna (Giuseppe Maria Crespi) (Bologna 1665-Rome 1747)                        |                                     |         |   |           |           |           |           |                 |
| (1)1759   | Mr Kent's sale<br>of Signr. Borri's | #65     | A large landscape, with<br>Diana's nymphs sleeping<br>pictures. |           |           |           | 10.10.0   | Cuenich         |

Italian landscape painting ...continued

| Artist  | Seller  | Lot No. | Title                                | 1710-1720 | 1721-1740 | 1741-1750 | 1750-1760 | Purchased by |
|---|---|---------|--------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|
| Sale date   |   |         |                                      |           |           |           |           |              |
| Francesco Fernandi( called Imperiali) (Milan 1679 - working in Rome c.1730) |   |         |                                      |           |           |           |           |              |
| (1)1731/2   | Chris. Cock                                     | # 56    | Angelica with Cattle                 |           | ---       |           |           |              |
| Francesco Zuccarelli (Pitigliano 1702 - Florence 1788)                      |   |         |                                      |           |           |           |           |              |
| (2)1758+ii  | Lord Southwell                                  | # 04    | A landsc. with figures<br>and cattle |           |           |           | 7,02,6    | Howard       |
|   |   | # 03    | Its companion                        |           |           |           | 7,15,0    | " "          |
| (2)1759+iii   | Mr. Kents sale<br>of Signr. Borri's<br>pictures | # 30    | A landscape & figures                |           |           |           | 18,08,0   | Harman       |
| (2) "   | "   | # 29    | Its companion                        |           |           |           | 23, 12, 6 | Hone         |

A Summary of Prices Paid for Italian Biblical History Painting 1710-1760

Prices are in Pounds, shillings and pence as quoted in the Houditch Sales Catalogues. There are some missing values indicated by a broken line. Names are in chronological order following the discussion in the text above. Two random samples were drawn from the Houditch Sales Catalogues (1711-1759), Victoria and Albert Museum Library, identified as (1) and (2) below. Artists have been placed in synchronic order according to date of birth.

| Artist<br>Sale Date   | Seller           | Lot No. | Title   | 1710-1720 | 1721-1740 | 1741-1750 | 1750-1760 | Purchased by     |
|---|------------------|---------|---|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------------|
| Parmigianino (Parma 1503 - Casal Maggiore 1540)   |                  |         |   |           |           |           |           |                  |
| (1)1741   | Sr. Jos. Eyles & | # 36    | The Marriage of St. Catherine<br>(school of Parmigianino)             |           |           | ---       |           |                  |
| Il Pordonone (Giovanni Antonio de' Sacchis) 1504 -1539                                    |                  |         |   |           |           |           |           |                  |
| (1)1754/9+11  | Pond (in part)   | # 42    | The woman taken in adultery   |           |           |           | 7.07.0    | Knapton & Parrot |
| Daniele da Volterra (Ricciarelli ?) (Volterra 1509 - Rome 1566)                           |                  |         |   |           |           |           |           |                  |
| (1)1756+1   | James Gibbs      | # 50    | Solomon in his dotage   |           |           | ---       |           |                  |
| And. Schiavone (Sebenico Dalmatia 1522 - 1582); (Infl. by Titian, Tintoretto & Giorgione) |                  |         |   |           |           |           |           |                  |
| (2)1722+1   | Duke of Portland | # 56    | The nativity  |           | 9.19.6    |           |           | Mr. Bacon        |
| Annibale Carracci (Bologna 1560 - Rome 1609)  |                  |         |   |           |           |           |           |                  |
| (2)1751   | Major            | # 44    | Our Saviour drawing<br>the buyers out of<br>the temple                |           |           |           | 16.16.0   |                  |
| Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio (Milan/ Caravaggio 1571 - Porto Ercole 1610)            |                  |         |   |           |           |           |           |                  |
| (2)1722+1   | Duke of Portland | #136    | Tobit & the angel   |           | 72.00.0   |           |           | Sr. Paul Methuen |
| Guido Reni (Bologna 1575 - 1642 )   |                  |         |   |           |           |           |           |                  |
| (2)1741+1   | Geminiani        | # 34    | The massacre of the<br>innocents after Guido<br>by Albano (see below) |           |           | 13.00.0   |           |                  |
| Francesco Albani (Bologna 1578 - 1660)  |                  |         |   |           |           |           |           |                  |
| (2)1741+1   | Geminiani        | # 34    | The massacre of the<br>innocents after<br>Guido Reni                  |           |           | 13.00.0   |           |                  |
| (2)1752+11  | At Prestages     | # 38    | Christ and the<br>Samaritan woman                                     |           |           |           | 17.17.0   |                  |
| Dominichino (Dominichino Zampieri) (Florence 1581-Naples 1641)                            |                  |         |   |           |           |           |           |                  |
| (1)1756   | van der Gucht    | # 58    | God appearing to Abraham  |           |           | ---       |           |                  |
| Sisto Badalocchi / Badalocchio (Parma 1581 - Bologna 1647)                                |                  |         |   |           |           |           |           |                  |
| (2)1749   | Marshall         | # 62    | Suzanna & the elders  |           |           | 19 00.0   |           |                  |
| Giovanni Battista Mola (Coldrerio, Como 1585-Rome 1665 )                                  |                  |         |   |           |           |           |           |                  |
| (1)1742   | Mr Paris         | # 6     | Joseph's dream  |           |           | 1.01.0    |           |                  |
| Il Guercino (Giovanni Francesco Barbieri) (Cento 1591-Bologna 1666)                       |                  |         |   |           |           |           |           |                  |
| (1)1751+11  | Lord Orford      | # 23    | Cain and Abel   |           |           |           | 7.15.0    | Leeson           |
| (1) ?   | Mr de Bary       | # 43    | St. Peter accused by Pilate's maid                                    |           |           |           |           |                  |
| Giovanni (?) Bellini ( Bologna early 17th.cent. - after 1660)                             |                  |         |   |           |           |           |           |                  |
| (2)1712   | Streater         | #113    | The visitation  | 2.00.0    |           |           |           | Broderick        |



Italian Biblical history...continued

| Artist   | Seller                        | Lot No. | Title   | 1710-1720 | 1721-1740 | 1741-1750 | 1750-1760 | Purchased by      |
|--|-------------------------------|---------|---|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------------|
| <hr/>  |                               |         |   |           |           |           |           |                   |
| Pier Francesco Mola (coldrerio 1612- Rome 1666)  |                               |         |   |           |           |           |           |                   |
| (1)1726  | Andrew Hay                    | # 10    | St. John preaching in the wilderness                          |           | 11.00.6   |           |           |                   |
| (2)1748+iii  | John van Spangen              | # 15    | The angels ministering to our Saviour in the wilderness       |           |           | 1.11.6    |           | Bonus             |
| <hr/>  |                               |         |   |           |           |           |           |                   |
| Salvator Rosa (1615-1673)  |                               |         |   |           |           |           |           |                   |
| (1)1743  | John van Spangen              | # 95    | St Anthony preaching to Satyrs<br>(see also landscapes above) |           | 6.15.0    |           |           |                   |
| (2)1743  | John van Spangen              | # 95    | same as above   |           |           |           |           |                   |
| <hr/>  |                               |         |   |           |           |           |           |                   |
| Carlo Dolci (Florence 1616 - 1686)   |                               |         |   |           |           |           |           |                   |
| (2) 1711   | Mr Burroughs                  | #118    | Herodias with the Head of St. John the Baptist                |           | £24.13.6  |           |           |                   |
| <hr/>  |                               |         |   |           |           |           |           |                   |
| Carlo Maratta (Camerano 1625 - Rome 1713)  |                               |         |   |           |           |           |           |                   |
| (1)1740  | Charles Jervas                | # 32    | The Marriage of St. Catherine                                 |           | ---       |           |           |                   |
| (2)1740+iv   | Charles Jervas                | #252    | Christ in the garden with angels                              |           |           |           |           |                   |
|  |                               | #253    | Its companion- a dead christ, Mary, angels etc.               |           | 77.00.0   |           |           | Mr. Jos. Townsend |
| <hr/>  |                               |         |   |           |           |           |           |                   |
| Luca Giordano (Naples 1632 - 1705)   |                               |         |   |           |           |           |           |                   |
| (1)1756+ii   | Mr Batt                       | # 62    | The Nativity  |           |           |           | 96.12.0   | Mayne             |
| <hr/>  |                               |         |   |           |           |           |           |                   |
| Pietro Bartoli (Perugia 1635 - Rome 1700)  |                               |         |   |           |           |           |           |                   |
| (2)1741+ii   | Mr. Paris                     | # 26    | Lazarus raised  |           | 8.00.0    |           |           | Govr. Stephenson  |
| (2) "  | "                             | # 25    | Its companion Judgement of Solomon                            |           | 8.10.6    |           |           | Mr. Warry         |
| <hr/>  |                               |         |   |           |           |           |           |                   |
| M. Berettoni (Montefeltro 1637 - 1682); (a scholar of Carlo Maratta; infl. by Guido Reni & Coreggio)             |                               |         |   |           |           |           |           |                   |
| (2)1740+ii   | Charles Jervas                | # 93    | St. Peter delivered from prison a cartoon                     |           | 1.01.0    |           |           |                   |
| <hr/>  |                               |         |   |           |           |           |           |                   |
| Antonio Domenico Gabbiani (Florence 1652 - Florence 1726); (Studied under Justus Sustermans, Vincenzo Dandini ). |                               |         |   |           |           |           |           |                   |
| (2)1758  | Mr. Kent (in part)            | # 54    | The arrival of Tobits wife at his house                       |           |           |           | 37.16.0   | Lord Curzon       |
| <hr/>  |                               |         |   |           |           |           |           |                   |
| G. Chiari (Rome 1654 - Rome 1727); (scholar of Carlo Maratta).   |                               |         |   |           |           |           |           |                   |
| (2)1730  | Chris. Cock                   | # 50    | Joseph & his mistress sale of Palavicini pictures             |           | ----      |           |           |                   |
| (2)1737+ii   | Sr. Tho Seabright & Mr. Bacon | # 48    | Diana bathing   |           | ----      |           |           |                   |
| <hr/>  |                               |         |   |           |           |           |           |                   |
| Solimena, prob. Francesco Solimena (Canale di Serino 1657 - Rome 1747)   |                               |         |   |           |           |           |           |                   |
| (1)1750+ii   | Anthony Cousein               | # 17    | A Madonna with Angels   |           | 13.05.0   |           |           | Duke of Ancaster  |
| (1) " "  | " "                           | "       | Assumption of the Virgin (its companion)                      |           | 12.05.0   |           |           |                   |



A Summary of Prices Paid for Italian Paintings of Biblical Figures 1710-1760

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| Artist  | Seller             | Lot No. | Title   | 1710-1720 | 1721-1740 | 1741-1750 | 1750-1760 | Purchased by     |
|---|--------------------|---------|---|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------------|
| Sale Date   |                    |         |   |           |           |           |           |                  |
| And. Salaris (Bologna 1480 - Gaeta 1545)  |                    |         |   |           |           |           |           |                  |
| (2)1755+11  | Rongent            | # 57    | The virgin & Our Saviour  |           |           |           | 1,13.0    | Scarlet          |
| Andrea del Sarto (Florence 1486-1531)   |                    |         |   |           |           |           |           |                  |
| (1)1747+11  | Mr Bruchett        | #143    | The Virgin Our Saviour<br>and St. John                              |           |           |           |           |                  |
| (2)1755+11  | Rongent            | # 44    | St. Catherine   |           |           |           | 14,14.0   | Blackwood        |
| Giulio Romano (Rome 1499 - Mantua 1546)   |                    |         |   |           |           |           |           |                  |
| (2) ?   | Bastiano Liggi     | # 54    | St. Cecilia (No price)  |           |           |           |           |                  |
| Parmigianino (Parma 1503 - Casal Maggiore 1540)                                     |                    |         |   |           |           |           |           |                  |
| (1)1715   | Mr Gouge           | # 17    | A dead Christ, Angels<br>(very fine)                                | ---       |           |           |           |                  |
| Agnolo Bronzino (Monticelli 1503-Florence 1572)                                     |                    |         |   |           |           |           |           |                  |
| (1)1749+11  | Dr. Bragge         | # 64    | A Madonna   |           |           | 21,00.0   |           | Harene           |
| Lodovico Carracci (Bologna 1555-1619)   |                    |         |   |           |           |           |           |                  |
| (1)1754   | Dr. Mead           | # 54    | The Virgin, Christ in<br>her lap, a monk kissing<br>the infants toe |           |           |           | 63,00.0   | Sir Paul Methuen |
| (1)1754+11  | Dr Bragge          | # 27    | The Virgin and child  |           |           | 2,12.6    |           |                  |
| Agostino Carracci (Bologna 1557 - Parma 1602)                                       |                    |         |   |           |           |           |           |                  |
| (2)1755+11  | Mr Bragge          | # 44    | The virgin with child on her knee                                   |           |           |           | 11,00.6   |                  |
| Annibale Carracci (Bologna 1560 - Rome 1609)  |                    |         |   |           |           |           |           |                  |
| (2)1735   | Sr James Thornhill | 97      | Virgin and child<br>with angels, a very<br>capital picture          |           | 53,11.0   |           |           |                  |
| Guido Reni (Bologna 1575-1642)  |                    |         |   |           |           |           |           |                  |
| (1) ?   | Mr Gibbons         | # 96    | Cain and Abel   |           |           |           |           |                  |
| (2)1740+111   | Lord Halifax       | # 88    | An Angel, a most<br>excellent head                                  |           | 15,15.0   |           |           |                  |
| (2)1749   | Marshall           | # 22    | A magdalen, whole length  |           |           | ----      |           |                  |
| (2) ?   | Mr D'Avenant       | # 15    | St. Jeromes head (no price)   |           |           |           |           |                  |
| Francesco Albani/ Albano (Bologna 1578 - 1660)                                      |                    |         |   |           |           |           |           |                  |
| (2)1730 +1  | Chris. Cock 's     | # 10    | A holy family<br>sale of the<br>Palavicini pictures                 |           | ----      |           |           |                  |
| Giovanni Lanfranco (called Cavaliere Giovanni di Stephano) (Parma 1581 - Rome 1647) |                    |         |   |           |           |           |           |                  |
| (2)1733+111   | Signr. Sterbins    | # 76    | A holy family   |           | ----      |           |           |                  |
| G. Vasian (Giovanni Vasanzio) (Jan van Santen)(working in Rome 1612- )              |                    |         |   |           |           |           |           |                  |
| (1) 1739 +1   | Mr Beauvais        | # 37    | St Catherin supported   |           | 0,15.0    |           |           |                  |

Italian Biblical figures...continued

| Artist<br>Sale Date  | Seller           | Lot No. Title   | 1710-1720 | 1721-1740 | 1741-1750 | 1750-1760 | Purchased by       |
|--|------------------|---|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------------|
| <b>Pier Francesco Mola ( Coldrerio 1612 - Rome 1666)</b>   |                  |   |           |           |           |           |                    |
| (2)1740+vi   | Charles Jervas   | #113 St. John,<br>and its companion?<br>the flight into Egypt           |           | 7.00.0    |           |           |                    |
| <b>Carlo Dolci (Florence 1616-1686)</b>  |                  |   |           |           |           |           |                    |
| (1)1758in Pt.  | Mr. Kent         | # 2 St Christiana   |           |           |           | 37.16.0   | Mr. Curzon         |
| (2)1727  | Lord Cadogan     | # 38 A Mater Dolorosa   |           | 9.10.0    |           |           |                    |
| <b>Carlo Maratta (1625 - Rome 1713)</b>  |                  |   |           |           |           |           |                    |
| (1)1740  | Charles Jervas   | # 32 Christ the Virgin<br>and St. Joseph<br>from C. Maratta             |           |           |           |           |                    |
| (1)1743  | Geminiani        | #101 The Holy family<br>on copper                                       |           |           | 4.15.0    |           |                    |
| (1)1751+ii   | Major            | # 44 A Holy family  |           |           |           | 16.16.0   | van der Buytch     |
| (1)1752+ii   | At Prestages     | # 7 A Holy family   |           |           |           | 6.15.0    | Collivoe           |
| (1)1757  | Mr. Sadler       | # 91 The Virgin with<br>Angels  |           |           |           | 13.13.0   | Raymond            |
| (2)1716  | Sr. Robt. Gayer  | # 37 A holy infant<br>sleeping  | ----      |           |           |           |                    |
| (2)1716  | " " "            | # 77 St John  | ----      |           |           |           |                    |
| <b>P. Perugino (prob. Pietro Montanini (Perugia 1626 - 1689); (a scholar of Ciro Ferrri; in landsc. a disciple of Salvator Rosa)</b> |                  |   |           |           |           |           |                    |
| (2)1750  | Anthony Cousein  | # 44 A dead Christ<br>with angels                                       |           |           | 8.08.0    |           |                    |
| <b>Luca Giordano (Naples 1632-1705)</b>  |                  |   |           |           |           |           |                    |
| (1)1747+iv   | Jos. Burchett    | #308 A Magdalen with<br>cherubins                                       |           |           |           |           |                    |
| (1)1758  | Mr. Fauquier     | # 21 A St Mary of Egypt   |           |           |           | 4.00.0    | Lord Cholmondesley |
| <b>Elizabetta Sirani (Bologna 1638 - 1665); (Imitator of Guido Reni)</b>   |                  |   |           |           |           |           |                    |
| (2)1759  | Mr. Kent's sale  | # 18 A madonna with a<br>Signr. Borri's<br>book in her hand<br>pictures |           |           |           | 3.15.0    | Mr. van der Gucht  |
| <b>Giuseppe Chiari (1654-1727)</b>   |                  |   |           |           |           |           |                    |
| (1)1714  | Pierre Motteux   | # 57 A Madonna over a<br>Sleeping Christ                                |           |           |           |           |                    |
| <b>Francesco Tranvisani (Capodistria 1656 - Rome 1746)</b>   |                  |   |           |           |           |           |                    |
| (1)1755+ii   | Rongent          | # 10 St Jerome and its<br>companion                                     |           |           |           | 1.04.0    | Ferguson           |
| <b>P. de Petri (Pietro de' Petris) ?</b>   |                  |   |           |           |           |           |                    |
| (1)1754+ii   | Mr Dahl          | # 56 Saint Cecelia  |           |           |           |           |                    |
| <b>C. Calabrese ?</b>  |                  |   |           |           |           |           |                    |
| (1)1725  | Andrew Hay       | # 29 St. Catherine  |           |           |           |           |                    |
| <b>Cavr. Bantiacci (?)</b>   |                  |   |           |           |           |           |                    |
| (2)1747 +ii  | Mr. Jos. Burchet | #144 St. Francis  |           |           | 5.05.0    |           |                    |

## Italian biblical paintings...continued

| Artist<br>Sale Date | Seller                                       | Lot No. | Title                           | 1710-1720 | 1721-1740 | 1741-1750 | 1750-1760 | Purchased by             |
|---------------------|--|---------|---------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------------------|
| <hr/>               |  |         |                                 |           |           |           |           |                          |
| Pegato (?)          |  |         |                                 |           |           |           |           |                          |
| (2)1755+iii         | Rongent                                      | # 3     | The Virgin and<br>Our Saviour   |           |           |           | 2.05,0    | Mr. van der Gucht        |
| <hr/>               |  |         |                                 |           |           |           |           |                          |
| Saluferrata (?)     |  |         |                                 |           |           |           |           |                          |
| (2)1757             | Kent's sale of<br>Signr. Borri's<br>pictures | # 58    | A Madonna<br>on copper, a round |           |           |           | 8.15,0    | Mr Scarlet for Mr. Price |
| (2)1742             | Mr. Paris                                    | # 8     | A Madonna                       |           |           |           | 9.16,0    |                          |
| <hr/>               |  |         |                                 |           |           |           |           |                          |
| Simeani (?)         |  |         |                                 |           |           |           |           |                          |
| (2)1739+iii         | Mr. Paris                                    | # 32    | A Madonna                       |           | 4.05,0    |           |           | Duhamel, Dorrett         |

A summary of Prices Paid for Italian Mythological Histories, 1710-1760

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| Artist  | Seller                       | Lot No. | Title   | 1710-1720 | 1721-1730 | 1731-1740 | 1741-1750 | 1751-1660 | Purchased by     |
|---|------------------------------|---------|---|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------------|
| Frederico Zuccaro (S. Angelo in Vado 1540-1609)   |                              |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                  |
| (1)1755+ii  | Rongent                      | # 8     | A Bacchanalian triumph  |           |           |           |           | 6,08,6    | Mr Blackwood     |
| (see Italian landscapes above)  |                              |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                  |
| Scarsellino da Ferrara (1551-1620)  |                              |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                  |
| (1)1757+ii  | Dr. Bragge                   | # 50    | Venus lamenting the death of Adonis                                   |           |           |           |           | 7,07,0    |                  |
| Andrea Sacchi (Nettuno 1599?- Rome 1661)  |                              |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                  |
| (1)1755+ii  | Mr Menageot                  | # 62    | Judgement of Paris  |           |           |           |           |           |                  |
| Annibale Carracci (Bologna 1560-Rome 1609)  |                              |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                  |
| (1) ?   | At the Green Door            | # 39    | Danae and the Golden Shower   |           |           |           |           |           |                  |
|   | Little Piazza, Covent Garden |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                  |
| (2) ?   | Capt. Broome                 | # 21    | Venus & cupid (No price)  |           |           |           |           |           |                  |
| Guido Reni (Bologna 1575 - 1642)  |                              |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                  |
| (2)1754+ii  | Dr Bragge                    | # 60    | Narcissus admiring himself in a fountain                              |           |           |           |           | 2,04,0    |                  |
| Francesco Albani (Bologna 1578-1660)  |                              |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                  |
| (1)1732   | Sir Andrew fountain          | # 52    | Diana and Acteon in his first manner                                  |           |           | 3,16,0    |           |           |                  |
| Valentini, could be Le Valentin (1591/4?-1632)or Pietro Valentini (active c. 1691)                    |                              |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                  |
| (1)1750   | Dr Bragge                    | # 58    | Circe transforming the companions of Ulysses                          |           |           |           | 32,11,0   |           | Duke of Ancaster |
| Francesco Lauri (1610-1635)   |                              |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                  |
| (1)1753   | Dr. Bragge                   | # 48    | Jupiter sending Mercury to free Io                                    |           |           |           |           |           |                  |
| Filippo Lauri (Rome 1623 - Rome 1694)( Lauri's works favoured amongst English engravers)              |                              |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                  |
| (2)1753+ii  | Bragge                       | # 55    | Jupiter and Arethusa  |           |           |           |           | 6,17,6    |                  |
| Valerio Castello (Genoa 1625 - Genoa 1659) (studied under Procaccini in Milan and Correggio in Parma) |                              |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                  |
| (2)1744+iii   | Paris                        | # 19    | Hercules received by Jupiter  |           |           |           | 8,00,0    |           | Mr. Wood         |
| Carlo Maratta (Maratti)( 1625-Rome 1713)  |                              |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                  |
| (1)1756   | Rongents                     | # 65    | Venus and Adonis capital, and its companion, Neptune offering to them |           |           |           |           | 36,15,0   | Ferguson         |

Italian Mythological Histories...continued

| Artist  | Seller                           | Lot No. | Title   | 1710-1720 | 1721-1730 | 1731-1740 | 1741-1750 | 1751-1660 | Purchased by |
|---|----------------------------------|---------|---|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|
| Sale Date   |                                  |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| Carlo Cignani (Bologna 1628 - Flori 1719); (pupil of Francesco Albani; infl. by Correggio and Carracci) |                                  |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| (2)1756+i   | Mr Batt                          | # 65    | Cupid & Psyche  |           |           |           |           | 38.06.6   |              |
| Luca Giordano (Naples 1632-1705   |                                  |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| (1)1759   | Dr. Bragge                       | # 54    | The cyclops playing<br>to Acis and Galatea                    |           |           |           |           | 16.05.6   | Brown        |
| (2)1749+ii  | Dr. Bragge                       | # 61    | Polyphemus  |           |           |           | 6.16.6    |           | Mr. Knight   |
| Padre Pozzo (probably Padre Giuseppe Pozzo ( ? - d. 1763) brother of Andreas Pozzo (Trent 1642 - 1709)  |                                  |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| (2)1731   | Mr. Jett                         | #166    | Triumph of Bacchus<br>by Alberti a disciple<br>of Padre Pozzo |           |           | ----      |           |           |              |
| Francesco Solimena (Naples 1657 - Rome 1747 (Infl. Luca Giordano, Seb. Conca, C. Giaquinto et al.)      |                                  |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| (2)1727   | Mr. Gouge                        | #116    | Venus showing Achilles<br>his armour                          |           | ----      |           |           |           |              |
| (2)1740+iii   | Charles Jervas                   | #213    | Cupid drawing a thorn<br>out of Venus's foot                  |           |           | 3.11.0    |           |           | Mr. Bodens   |
| Paulo de Matteis (Cilento 1662 Naples 1728)   |                                  |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| (1)1741   | Sr. Jo. Eyles and<br>Cpt. Windes | # 45    | Perseus and Andromeda,<br>and a Madonna                       |           |           |           |           |           |              |

### A summary of Prices Paid for Italian Paintings of Architecture , 1710-1760

Prices are in Pounds, shillings and pence as quoted in the Houlditch Sales Catalogues. There are some missing values indicated by a broken line. Names are in chronological order following the discussion in the text above. Two random samples were drawn from the Houlditch Sales Catalogues (1711-1759), Victoria and Albert Museum Library, identified as (1) and (2) below. Artists have been placed in synchronic order according to date of birth.

| Artist<br>Sale Date  | Seller                   | Lot No. | Title   | 1710-1720 | 1721-1730 | 1731-1740 | 1741-1750 | 1751-1660 | Purchased by    |
|--|--------------------------|---------|---|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------------|
| <hr/>  |                          |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                 |
| Codazzi Viviani/ Viviano (b Bergamo 1603 - Naples 1672) or Niccolo Viviani (b. Naples 1693 - ? ) |                          |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                 |
| (1)1754+iii  | Dr. Mead                 | # 26    | A small piece of architecture                                 |           |           |           |           | 35,14,0   | Isaacs          |
| (2)1739+ii   | Andrew Hay               | # 45    | Architect, figures, by Car. Veronese                          |           |           | 6,00,0    |           |           |                 |
| (2)1743+iii  | Geminiani                | #121    | Archit. & figures) in the manner of) Viviano; )               |           |           |           | 6,00,0    |           |                 |
|  |                          | #122    | Its companion )   |           |           |           |           |           |                 |
| (2)1744+ii   | Bragge                   | # 4     | The temple of Peace   |           |           |           | 2,19,0    |           |                 |
| <hr/>  |                          |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                 |
| Giovanni Ghisolfi (Milan 1632 - Milan 1683) (pupil of Salvator Rosa)                             |                          |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                 |
| (2)1713  |                          | # 06    | At the three Chairs Ruins & figures                           | ----      |           |           |           |           |                 |
|  | Covent Garden            |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                 |
| (2)1750  | Mr. Edwin                | # 24    | Archit. & figures   |           |           |           | 9,09,0    |           | Maddison        |
| <hr/>  |                          |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                 |
| Gaspar van Wittel/ van Vitelli (Gaspar delle Occhiali) (Utrecht 1653 - Rome 1730)                |                          |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                 |
| (2)1756+ii   | Rongent                  | # 9     | Architecture  |           |           |           |           | 1,00,0    | Blithe          |
| (2)1756+ii   | Dr Bragge                | # 58    | Entrance into Rome IVth.: a Cardinal's entry                  |           |           |           |           | 34,13,0   | Mr. Dalton      |
|  |                          | # 59    | Its companion - A view of Monte Cavallo with Cardinal's entry |           |           |           |           | 23,02,0   |                 |
| (2)1726  | Andrew Hay               | # 9     | A view of Florence  |           | 18,18,0   |           |           |           |                 |
| (1)1739  | Andrew Hay               | # 42    | A view of Venice, on copper                                   |           |           | 28,07,0   |           |           | D. Leeds        |
| (1)1744+iiii   | Mr. Paris                | # 42    | View of the Is. of borrono                                    |           |           |           | 21,00,0   |           | Mr. Wood        |
| (1)1744+ii   | Bragge                   | # 52    | View of the Ponte Rota  |           |           |           | 36,04,6   |           | Mr. van Spangen |
| (1) ?  | Messrs Wilkens & Dubarry | # 81    | View of St. Angelo's (No price)                               |           |           |           |           |           |                 |
| <hr/>  |                          |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                 |
| Giovanni Paolo Pannini (Piacenza 1691/2 - Rome 1765 (??))  |                          |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                 |
| (1)1735+ii   | Sr. James Thornhill      | # 51    | A piece of ruins by Pannini, the figures by James Thornhill   |           |           | 7,00,0    |           |           |                 |
| (1)1742  | Mr. Bragge               | # 34    | Archit. & figures & its companion                             |           |           |           | 46,14,6   |           |                 |
| (1)+i  | Lord Southwell           | # 24    | The Pantheon (the companion of The Coluseum at Rome           |           |           |           |           | 28,00,01  |                 |
|  |                          |         |   |           |           |           |           | 37,16,01  | Lord Egremont   |
| (2)1743+ii   | Dr. Bragge at Mr. Cocks  | # 51    | The church of St. Agnes                                       |           |           |           | 23,12,6   |           |                 |
| (2)1749  | Mr Kent                  | # 74    | Architecture - a companion to a painting by Viviano #73       |           |           |           | 5,05,0    |           |                 |
|  |                          |         |   |           |           |           | 5,07,6    |           |                 |



Italian Architecture,,continued

| Artist   | Seller      | Lot No. | Title   | 1710-1720 | 1721-1730 | 1731-1740 | 1741-1750 | 1751-1660 | Purchased by |
|--|-------------|---------|---|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|
| P. Bianchi (Rome 1694 - 1740)(Scholar of Benedetto Luti) |             |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| (2)1728  | Mr. Philips | # 141   | A piece of building with figures, water colours |           | 2,26,0    |           |           |           | Scott        |
| Domenico Roberti ( ? - ? )                               |             |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| (1)1738+11   | Andrew Hay  | #121    | Archit. & figures                               |           |           | 14,14,0   |           |           | D. Kent      |
|  |             | 122     | Its companion                                   |           |           | 12,15,0   |           |           | Wooton       |

A summary of Prices Paid for Venetian Paintings of Architecture and Views 1710-1760

Prices are in Pounds, shillings and pence as quoted in the Houlditch catalogues. There are some missing values indicated by a broken line. Names are in chronological order following the discussion in the text above. Two random samples were drawn from the Houlditch Sales Catalogues (1711-1759), Victoria and Albert Museum Library, identified as (1) and (2) below. Artists have been placed in synchronic order according to date of birth.

| Artist   | Seller          | Lot No. | Title   | 1710-1720 | 1721-1730 | 1731-1740 | 1741-1750 | 1751-1660 | Purchased by                     |
|--|-----------------|---------|---|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------------------------------|
| Sale Date  |                 |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                                  |
| <hr/>  |                 |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                                  |
| Sebastiano Ricci (Belluno 1659 - Venice 1734)          |                 |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                                  |
| (2)1749/50   | Anthony Cousein | # 27    | Architecture & Figures                                      |           |           |           | 21.00.0   |           |                                  |
| <hr/>  |                 |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                                  |
| Marco Ricci (Belluno 1676 - Venice 1729)               |                 |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                                  |
| (1)1747+1  | Mr. Richardson  | # 16    | Ruins & Antiquities<br>figures of St.<br>Sebastian          |           |           |           | 47.00.0   |           | Armstrong                        |
| <hr/>  |                 |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                                  |
| Unknown Venetian                                       |                 |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                                  |
| (2)1739/40   | Lord Halifax    | #22     | A long View of Venice                                       |           |           | 0.12.0    |           |           |                                  |
| <hr/>  |                 |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                                  |
| Antonio Canale (called Canaletto) (Venice 1697 - 1768) |                 |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                                  |
| (1)1759+11   | Mr. Kent        | # 35    | Views of the Arno,<br>with The Ponte Vecchio                |           |           |           |           | 12.01.6   | Wicker for Blount                |
|  |                 | # 35    | The Companions, with<br>The Ponte Carrera                   |           |           |           |           | 21.10.6   | Barnard                          |
| (2)1754+11   | Dr. Mead        | # 30    | A View of St. Marks<br>Place, at Venice in<br>Carnival Time |           |           |           |           | 33.12.0   | Jennings                         |
|  |                 | # 31    | Its Companion - a view<br>up the Great Canal                |           |           | 35.14.0   |           |           | Jennings                         |
|  | Lord Orford     | # 64    | A View in Venice  |           |           |           |           | 36.15.6   | Raymond '3- Sir<br>Samson Gideon |
|  | Mr. Paris       | # 29    | A View of Venice )<br>Its Companion )                       |           |           |           | 35.14.0   |           |                                  |

A summary of Prices Paid for Venetian Landscapes 1710-1760

Prices are in Pounds, shillings and pence as quoted in the Houlditch catalogues. There are some missing values indicated by a broken line. Names are in chronological order following the discussion in the text above. Two random samples were drawn from the Houlditch Sales Catalogues (1711-1759), Victoria and Albert Museum Library, identified as (1) and (2) below. Artists have been placed in synchronic order according to date of birth.

| Artist  | Seller                          | Lot No. | Title                                | 1710-1720 | 1721-1730 | 1731-1740 | 1741-1750 | 1751-1660 | Purchased by |
|---|---------------------------------|---------|--------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|
| Sale Date   |                                 |         |                                      |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| <hr/>   |                                 |         |                                      |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| Perreggrini/Pellegrini ?  |                                 |         |                                      |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| (2)1719/19  | Sold at the 3<br>Chairs, C.6dn. | # 39    | A Landscape with<br>Figures & Cattle |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| <hr/>   |                                 |         |                                      |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| Pellegrini (Padria nr. Venice 1674/5 - Venice 1741)                           |                                 |         |                                      |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| (2)1746   | Mr. Glover                      | # 60    | Two Small Landscapes                 |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| <hr/>   |                                 |         |                                      |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| Bassano (Unidentified Members of the Family) (Late 16th - Early 17th Century) |                                 |         |                                      |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| (2)1717/18  | John Verelst                    | # 55    | A Landscape & Figures                |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| (2)1742/3   | Mr. Paris                       | # 70    | A Night Piece                        |           |           |           | 11.10.0   |           | Colebrook    |

### A summary of Prices Paid for Venetian Biblical History Paintings 1710-1760

Prices are in Pounds, shillings and pence as quoted in the Houlditch catalogues. There are some missing values indicated by a broken line. Names are in chronological order following the discussion in the text above. Two random samples were drawn from the Houlditch Sales Catalogues (1711-1759), Victoria and Albert Museum Library, identified as (1) and (2) below. Artists have been placed in synchronic order according to date of birth.

| Artist  | Seller                                     | Lot No. | Title   | 1710-1720 | 1721-1730 | 1731-1740 | 1741-1750 | 1751-1660 | Purchased by   |
|---|--|---------|---|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------------|
| Sale Date   |  |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                |
| Vecchio Palma (Jacopo Negretti) (Serinalta 1480 - Venice 1528)                |  |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                |
| (1)   | Bashano Liggi's                            | # 75    | History of Our Saviour<br>Sale (?)                      |           |           |           |           |           |                |
| Giovannio Antonio Pellegrini (Venice 1675 - 1741)                             |  |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                |
| (1)1749/50  | Anthony Couseins                           | # 32    | David & Bathsheba                                       |           |           |           | 4,14.6    |           |                |
| G. Bassano (Late 16th - early 17th Century)                                   |  |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                |
| (1)1742   | Monsr. de Piles's                          | # 57    | The Angel Appearing<br>sale to the Shepherds            |           |           |           | 39.18.0   |           | Cooke (Coke ?) |
| (1)1756+1   | Mr. Fairfax                                | # 75    | Jacobs Journey into<br>Egypt                            |           |           |           |           |           |                |
| Bassano (Unidentified members of the family) (late 16th - early 17th Century) |  |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                |
| (2)1756   | Mr. Fairfax                                | # 75    | Jacobs Journey into<br>Egypt by G. Bassano              |           |           |           |           |           |                |
| Paulo Veronese (Verona 1528 - Venice 1588)                                    |  |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                |
| (1)1733+11  | Signr Sterbine                             | # 77    | The Adoration   |           |           |           |           |           |                |
| (1)1747+11  | Duke of Chandos                            | # 95    | Marriage of<br>St. Catherine                            |           |           |           | 9.05.0    |           |                |
| (1)   | Capt. Brookes                              | # 16    | Christ and the<br>Samaritan Woman                       |           |           |           |           |           |                |
| (2)1722   | Duke of Portland                           | # 16    | Our Saviour Disputing<br>with the Doctors<br>- a Sketch |           |           | 3.03.0    |           |           |                |
| (2)1749/50  | Lady Sutherland<br>and Sir Robt.<br>Sutton | # 51    | The Nativity  |           |           |           | 15.04.6   |           | Moreland       |
| Jacopo Tintoretto (Venice 1518 - 1594)  |  |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                |
| Domenico Tintoretto (Venice 1560 - 1635)                                      |  |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                |
| (2)1751   | Lord Orford                                | # 84    | The Adoration of the<br>Kings                           |           |           |           | 4.00.0    |           | Leeson         |

A summary of Prices Paid for Flemish Landscape Painting, 1710-1760

Prices are in Pounds, shillings and pence as quoted in the Houlditch catalogues. There are some missing values indicated by a broken line. Names are in chronological order following the discussion in the text above. Two random samples were drawn from the Houlditch Sales Catalogues (1711-1759), Victoria and Albert Museum Library, identified as (1) and (2) below. Artists have been placed in synchronic order according to date of birth.

| Artist  | Seller  | Lot No. | Title  | 1710-1720 | 1721-1730 | 1731-1740 | 1741-1750 | 1751-1660 | Purchased by     |
|---|---|---------|--|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------------|
| Sale Date   |   |         |  |           |           |           |           |           |                  |
| Paul Brill (Antwerp 1554 - Rome 1626)                           |   |         |  |           |           |           |           |           |                  |
| (1)1754/5+11  | Chevr. Couvry<br>(or Couvray ?)                   | # 12    | Jonas Cast on the<br>Shore by the Whale - No Price   |           |           |           |           |           |                  |
| (1)1714(?)  | Mr. Motteau (?)                                   | # 55    | A Landscape with<br>Figures - No Price   |           |           |           |           |           |                  |
| (1)1755+11  | Rongent   | # 51    | A Landscape & Figures  |           |           |           | 10.10.0   |           | Craggs           |
| (1)1759+11  | Duke of<br>Rutland (part)                         | # 64    | An Oval Landscape  |           |           |           | 14.14.0   |           | Van der Gucht    |
| (1)1750   | Dr. Bragge  | # 56    | A Landscape and<br>its Companion   |           |           |           |           |           |                  |
| (2)1741/2   | Dr. Bragge  | # 45    | A Large View painted<br>from Life  |           |           |           | 14.00.0   |           |                  |
| (2)1749/50  | Major & Gouijn                                    | # 79    | View of Loretto,<br>Figs. Carracci   |           |           |           | 3.03.0    |           |                  |
| (2)1758   | Sir Luke<br>Schaub                                | # 118   | View of Antwerp -<br>The City in the Background [by] P. Brill<br>The Head of Flanders in the<br>Foreground [by] Rubens<br>The River L'Eseaut with Bridge<br>& Buildings upon it .... [by] Gillis<br>The Small figs. upon the River<br>and Border [by] Vel. Bruegel |           |           |           |           | 551.05.0  | Duke of Portland |
| Jan Brueghel I (Velvet Brueghel) (Brussels 1568 - Antwerp 1625) |   |         |  |           |           |           |           |           |                  |
| (1)1755   | Mr. Menageots                                     | # 45    | A Landscape with<br>Horses & Figures -   |           |           |           |           | ----      |                  |
| (1)1715   | Sale - Green<br>Door, Little<br>Piazza, Cvt. Gdn. | # 26    | A Landscape, Figures<br>& Buildings  | ----      |           |           |           |           |                  |
| (1)1748/9   | Baron de Vicq.                                    | # 68    | A Landscape & Figures  |           |           | ----      |           |           |                  |
| (2)1755   | Menageot  | # 46    | L. Landscape with<br>Horses & Figures  |           |           |           |           |           |                  |
|   | Sale - Black<br>Moors Head                        | # 115   | A Landscape & Figures  |           |           |           |           |           |                  |
| Brueghel (Unidentified family name)                             |   |         |  |           |           |           |           |           |                  |
| (2)? +1   | Mr. Burroughs                                     | # 38    | A Venus in Chiaroscuro<br>and a Landscape £0.19.0  |           |           |           |           |           |                  |
| (2)1726   | Sale of pictures<br>at Blackmoors<br>Head         | # 75    | A Landscape with Figs.   |           | ----      |           |           |           |                  |
| Jacques Fouquier (prob. Fouquieres) (Antwerp 1580 - Paris 1659) |   |         |  |           |           |           |           |           |                  |
| (2)1731   | Sale at Cocks-<br>a Consignment<br>from Spain     | # 13    | A Landscape - No price   |           |           | ----      |           |           |                  |

Flemish Landscapes...continued

| Artist   | Seller  | Lot No. | Title   | 1710-1720 | 1721-1730 | 1731-1740 | 1741-1750        | 1751-1860 | Purchased by         |
|--|---|---------|---|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------------|-----------|----------------------|
| Sale Date  |   |         |   |           |           |           |                  |           |                      |
| Abraham I. Genoels (Antwerp 1628/29 - 1636/7) or<br>Abraham II Genoels (Antwerp 1640 - 1723)   |   |         |   |           |           |           |                  |           |                      |
| (1)  | Green Door,<br>Little Piazza,<br>Covent Garden    | # 112   | A Landscape   |           |           |           |                  |           |                      |
| F. Mille (prob. Francisque (?) Millet) (Antwerp 1642 - Paris 1679)<br>[Pupil of Laureys Franck, Classical Landscape in style of Gaspar Dughet] |   |         |   |           |           |           |                  |           |                      |
| (1)1743  | Geminiani   | # 61    | A Landscape & Figures<br>in manner of Bartolomeo<br>Its Companion |           |           |           | 1.12.0<br>2.11.0 |           |                      |
| (2)1741/2  | Dr Bragge   | # 5     | A Small Landscape   |           |           |           | 1.09.0           |           |                      |
| (2)1738/9  | Mr. Beauvais                                      | # 49    | A Landscape & Figs  |           |           | 10.00.0   |                  |           |                      |
| (2) ?  | Mr. Warner  | # 46    | A Landscape   |           |           |           |                  |           |                      |
| (2)1750/1  | Blackwood   | # 64    | A Landscape with<br>figs, & a Waterfall                           |           |           |           |                  | 7.07.0    | Ball                 |
| P. van Bloom (prob. Pieter van Bloemen) (Antwerp 1657 - Antwerp 1719)  |   |         |   |           |           |           |                  |           |                      |
| (2)1742/3+11   | Mr. Paris   | # 44    | A View<br>Its Companion   |           |           |           | 4.08.0<br>4.16.0 |           | Marshall<br>Marshall |
| J.F. van Bloemen (called Horizontally) (Antwerp 1662 - Rome 1740)  |   |         |   |           |           |           |                  |           |                      |
| (2)1757  | Mr. Sadler<br>(in part)                           | # 81    | A Landscape   |           |           |           |                  | 2.16.0    |                      |
| Hendrick van Lint (called Studio) (Antwerp 1684 - ? after 1726)<br>(Youngest son of Pieter van Lint - Antwerp 1609 - 1690)                     |   |         |   |           |           |           |                  |           |                      |
| (2)1754+11   | Lord Coleraine                                    | # 77    | A View of tres<br>Fontani in Rome                                 |           |           |           |                  |           |                      |
|  |   | # 57    | A Long View in Florence -   |           |           |           |                  | ----      |                      |
| Matthys Schoevaert's (spelt Scovaerts) (Working Brussels 1690 - 1720)  |   |         |   |           |           |           |                  |           |                      |
| (1)1756  | Mr. Rongents                                      | # 11    | Two Views with Figures  |           |           |           |                  | 1.16.0    | Pinchbeck            |
| Ju (prob. Joseph) van der Voordt (Antwerp 1734/5 - ?)  |   |         |   |           |           |           |                  |           |                      |
| (1)1756  | John de Pester                                    | # 19    | A Landscape with<br>Architecture & Figs.                          |           |           |           |                  | 4.12.0    |                      |
| Bergen of Brussels (Dirk van den Bergen ?)   |   |         |   |           |           |           |                  |           |                      |
| (2)1715  | At the 3 Chairs<br>Covent Garden                  | # 61    | Landscape with figs,<br>and Cattle                                |           |           |           |                  | ----      |                      |
| Snyders  |   |         |   |           |           |           |                  |           |                      |
| (2)1714  | Sale at Golden<br>Ball's, Bow St<br>Covent Garden | # 140   | A Landscape with Cattle ----                                      |           |           |           |                  |           |                      |
| Teniers  |   |         |   |           |           |           |                  |           |                      |
| (2)1739/40   | C. Jervas   | # 493   | A Landscape with a<br>Shepherd and Cattle<br>by D. Teniers        |           |           |           |                  |           |                      |
| (2)1741+11   | Jos Eyles &                                       | # 138   | A Landscape with Figures  |           |           |           |                  |           |                      |

A summary of Prices Paid for Flemish Portrait Painting, 1710-1760

Prices are in Pounds, shillings and pence as quoted in the Houlditch catalogues. There are some missing values indicated by a broken line. Names are in chronological order following the discussion in the text above. Two random samples were drawn from the Houlditch Sales Catalogues (1711-1759), Victoria and Albert Museum Library, identified as (1) and (2) below. Artists have been placed in synchronic order according to date of birth.

| Artist   | Seller  | Lot No. | Title   | 1710-1720 | 1721-1730 | 1731-1740 | 1741-1750 | 1751-1660 | Purchased by |
|--|---|---------|---|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|
| Sale Date  |   |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| Abraham Janssen (also Jonson) (Antwerp 1575 - 1632)      |   |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| (1)1755+11   | Owen McSwinnay  | # 50    | A Mans Head by Rubens, and<br>Its Companion                                 |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| Antonio Mor (Utrecht 1544 - Antwerp 1576/77)             |   |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| (1)1742/3  | Mr. Powlett   | # 33    | Sir Thos Gresham's Head   |           |           |           | 2,14,0    |           |              |
| Peter Paul Rubens (Siegen 1577 - Antwerp 1540)           |   |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| (1)1755+11   | Mr. Palmer  | # 36    | K. James on a Grey Horse<br>and Views of Windsor                            |           |           |           |           | 21,00,0   | Lord Verney  |
| (2)1742+1  | Monsr. de Piles   | # 51    | Two heads   |           |           |           | 15,15,0   |           | Heidegger    |
| (2)1750+11   | Brage   | # 59    | The Duke (?) d'Orleans  |           |           |           | 35,14,0   |           | Barnard      |
| Jacob Jordaens (Antwerp 1593 - Antwerp 1678)             |   |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| (2)1726  | Dobson  | # 22    | An old man's head   |           | ----      |           |           |           |              |
| Sir Anthony Van Dyck (Dyke) (Antwerp 1599 - London 1641) |   |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| (1)1717  | Sale of pictures<br>at 3 Chairs,<br>Little Piazza,<br>Covent Garden |         | # 24 Rubens Head  | ----      |           |           |           |           |              |
| (2)1722  | Mr. van Huls  | #169    | Don Anthony Spinola, with<br>Agonello                                       |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| (1)1726  | At Blackmoors<br>Head, Cov. Gdn                                     | # 58    | Lady Catherine Seymour  |           | ----      |           |           |           |              |
| (1)1727  | Mr. de Voss   | # 88    | A Lady's Head - No price  |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| (1)1741+11   | Mr. Paris   | # 1     | A Lady's Head - school of<br>V. Dyke  |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| (2)1742+v  | Lord Orford   | # 30    | Earl of Arundel & son & length  |           |           |           | ----      |           |              |
| (1)1742/3+1v   | Mr. Scaven  | # 28    | K. Ch 1 on Horseback by<br>Old Stone after Van Dyck<br>(see also Old Stone) |           |           |           | 15,15,0   |           |              |
| (1)1742  | Lord Oxford   | # 41    | K. Ch. 1 (whole length) ]<br>His Queen ]                                    |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| (1)1743/4  | Fords   | # 27    | A Small Head  |           |           | ----      |           |           |              |
| (1)1747+11   | Mr. Jos Burchett  | # 94    | A Man's Head  |           |           | ----      |           |           |              |
| (2)1747  | Duke of Chandos   | # 26    | Van Dyck's head with a<br>sunflower   |           |           |           | ----      |           |              |
| (2)1747  | Duke of Chandos   | #106    | A mans head, a roll of paper<br>in his hand                                 |           |           |           | ----      |           |              |
| (2)1747  | Duke of Chandos   | #146    | Van Dycks head by himself   |           |           |           | ----      |           |              |
| (1)1756  | Van der Gucht   | # 35    | A Man's Head - No Price   |           |           |           |           | ----      |              |
| (2) ?  | Lady Sunderland   | # 20    | A statuary's head, 3/4 view - £3,16,0                                       |           |           |           |           |           |              |
|  | Sir Robt. Sutton  |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |              |

### Flemish Portrait Painting...continued

| Artist  | Seller              | Lot No. | Title                         | 1710-1720 | 1721-1730 | 1731-1740 | 1741-1750 | 1751-1660 | Purchased by |
|---|---------------------|---------|-------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|
| Sale Date   |                     |         |                               |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| D. Teniers (prob. David Teniers II) (Antwerp 1610 - Brussels 1690)            |                     |         |                               |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| (1)1753   | Dr. Bragge          | # 8     | Portrait of a Man             |           |           |           |           | 2.12.6    |              |
| (2)   | Sir William Chapman | # 12    | A Head on Copper              |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| Dubois (prob. Eduard) (prob. Antwerp - London 1697)                           |                     |         |                               |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| (Born Antwerp, lived Antwerp 1619, died London 1697 [St Giles-in-the-Fields]) |                     |         |                               |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| (1)1734/5   | Sir James Thornhill | # 29    | The Famous van de Veld's Head |           |           |           | 1.01.0    |           |              |

A summary of Prices Paid for Flemish Paintings of Biblical Histories, 1710-1760

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| Artist  | Seller                               | Lot No. | Title   | 1710-1720 | 1721-1730 | 1731-1740 | 1741-1750 | 1751-1660 | Purchased by   |
|---|--------------------------------------|---------|---|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------------|
| Sale Date   |                                      |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                |
| Quentin Matsys/Massys (Louvain 1464/5 - Antwerp 1530)                                   |                                      |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                |
| (1)17 ?   | Griffier's Sale                      | # 58    | Pilate Washing his Hands ----   |           |           |           |           |           |                |
| Frans Floris (Antwerp 1516/20 - 1570)   |                                      |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                |
| (2)1741+111   | Mr. Glover                           | # 171   | Suzanna & The Elders  |           |           |           | 1.06.0    |           |                |
| Old Frank (Franz, Franck or Franken) (1542 - 1616)                                      |                                      |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                |
| (1)1733   | Mr. Sykes<br>(Painter) Sale          | # 165   | Our Saviour's Passion<br>in the Garden  |           |           |           |           |           |                |
| Paul Brill (Antwerp 1554 - Rome 1626)   |                                      |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                |
| (1)1754/5+11  | Chevr. Courry<br>Courray (?)         | # 12    | Jonas Cast on the Shore<br>by the Whale   |           |           |           |           | ----      |                |
| Jan I Breughel (Velvet) (Brussels 1568 - Antwerp 1625)                                  |                                      |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                |
| (1)1748/9+11  | Mr. Blackwood                        | # 39    | The Tower of Babel  |           |           |           | 21.10.6   |           | Harene         |
| Giovanni Biliverti (Worked for Correggio) (Maestricht 1576 - Florence 1644)             |                                      |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                |
| (1)1757+1   | Mr. Kent                             | # 24    | Sisera with ...'s(?)<br>[Jael's] Head<br>(Should be Jael with<br>Sisera's Head) |           |           |           |           | 4.10.0    |                |
| Peter Paul Rubens (Sieger 1577 - Antwerp 1540)  |                                      |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                |
| (2)1745   | Mr. Huggins                          | # 53    | Sampson & Delilah   |           |           |           |           |           |                |
| (2)1754+11  | Mr Blackwood                         | # 88    | The Resurrection; much<br>larger than life Brought in.                          |           |           |           |           |           |                |
| Sir Anthony Van Dyke/Dyck (Antwerp 1599 - London 1641)                                  |                                      |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                |
| (1)1743/4+111   | In Lady<br>Falklands(house)          | # 5     | Adoration of Magi (after)   |           |           |           |           | ----      |                |
| (2)1755+11  | Sir John Austin                      | # 75    | The Last Supper   |           |           |           |           | ----      |                |
| (2)1757+1   | Mr. Bagnal &<br>Lady Arthur          | # 54    | Adoration of the<br>Shepherds   |           |           |           |           | '8.01.6   |                |
| Simon de Vos (Antwerp 1603 - 1676)  |                                      |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                |
| (1) +11   | Sir Tho.<br>Selbright &<br>Mr. Bacon | # 55    | The Prodigal Son  |           |           |           |           |           |                |
|   | Mr. Le Maistre                       | # 34    | Mary Magdalen Washing<br>Our Saviour's Feet<br>by de Vos ----                   |           |           |           |           |           |                |
| Quillen (Quellinis, Artus) also spelt Quiline (Elder 1609 - 1668) (Younger 1625 - 1700) |                                      |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |                |
| (1)1771   | Sergeant<br>Sweaters                 | # 27    | A Compartment of Fruit<br>with The Marriage of<br>St. Catherine                 |           |           | 4.06.0    |           |           | Lord Leicester |



Flemish Paintings of Biblical Histories...continued

| Artist   | Seller              | Lot No. | Title                                   | 1710-1720 | 1721-1730 | 1731-1740 | 1741-1750 | 1751-1660 | Purchased by |
|--|---------------------|---------|---|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|
| Sale Date  |                     |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| Boyermaans of Antwerp (Theodor Beoyermaans) (Getauft zu Antwerpen 1620 - 1678) |                     |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| (1)1743/4+i  | Lady Falkland       | # 59    | Sacrificing of St.Paul                  |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| Babthazar van Lemens (Old Lemens) (prob.Antwerp 1637 - London 1704)            |                     |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| (1)1726/7  | Gouger Sale         | # 67    | Lot and His Daughters                   |           | ----      |           |           |           |              |
| F. Mille (prob. Francisque ? Millet) (Antwerp 1642 - Paris 1679)               |                     |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| (1)1714  | Motteaux Sale       | # 17    | Susannah & The Elders<br>in a Landscape |           | ----      |           |           |           |              |
| Dubois (prob. Eduard) (Antwerp ? - London 1697)                                |                     |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| (1)1742/3+11   | Mr. Powlett         | # 6     | The Adoration (After)<br>(of Magi)      |           |           |           | 1,03,0    |           |              |
| Breughel (Unidentified Family Name)  |                     |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| (2)1754  | Mr.Da Costa         | # 31    | The Finding of Moses                    |           |           |           |           | ----      |              |
| (Name Omitted - Unknown)   |                     |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| 1747/8+11  | John van<br>Spangen | # 12    | A Nativity                              |           |           |           | 0,08,6    |           | Nightingale  |

### A summary of Prices Paid for French Landscape Painting, 1710-1760

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| Artist  | Seller                                       | Lot No.    | Title                                     | 1710-1720                   | 1721-1730 | 1731-1740 | 1741-1750 | 1751-1660 | Purchased by              |
|---|--|------------|---|-----------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|---------------------------|
| Sale Date   |  |            |   |                             |           |           |           |           |                           |
| Jacques Fouquieres (Antwerp 1590 - Paris 1659)                      |  |            |   |                             |           |           |           |           |                           |
| (1)1755+11  | Mr. Bragge                                   | # 14       | A View through a Wood                     |                             |           |           |           | 5.05,0    | Mr. Blomberg              |
| Nicolas Poussin (Les Andelys 1594 - Rome 1665)                      |  |            |   |                             |           |           |           |           |                           |
| (2)1715   | Green Door, Little Piazza, Cvt. Gdn          | # 24       | A Landscape with Figures                  |                             |           |           |           |           |                           |
| (2)1726/7   | Mr. Gouge                                    | # 76       | A Landscape with Figures                  | ----                        |           |           |           |           |                           |
| (1)1740+11  | Mr. Paris                                    | # 35       | A Landscape with Figures                  |                             |           |           |           |           |                           |
| (2)1748+11  | Lord Oxford                                  | # 87       | Ruins & Figures in style of Bragge        |                             |           |           | 7.07,0    |           |                           |
|   |  |            | by Gaspar & Nicolas Poussin               |                             |           | 27.06,0   |           |           | Hervey                    |
| (1)1756+11  | Dr. Bragge                                   | # 57       | A Landscape                               |                             |           |           |           | 4.06,0    |                           |
| Bourgoynone (?) (Jacques Courtois) (Saint Hippolyte 1621-Rome 1676) |  |            |   |                             |           |           |           |           |                           |
| (1) (?)   | Sir William Willsy                           | # 94       | A Long Battle Piece                       | (£8.10,0)                   |           |           |           |           |                           |
|   | (1)1741+1                                    | Ld. Orford | # 45                                      | A battle, and its companion |           | 10.05,0   |           | 6.06,0    | Marshall                  |
| (1)1747+111   | Jos. Burchett                                | # 174      | A battle                                  |                             |           |           |           |           |                           |
| (2)1754+111   | Dr. Mead                                     | # 18       | A Battle Piece                            |                             |           |           |           | 39.18,0   | Raymond                   |
| (1)1758   | Dr. Bragge                                   | # 43       | A battle and its companion                |                             |           |           |           | 5.18,0    |                           |
|   |  |            |   |                             |           |           |           | 5.00,0    |                           |
| Jacques Fouquieres (Antwerp 1590-Paris 1659)                        |  |            |   |                             |           |           |           |           |                           |
| (1)1755+11  | Bragge                                       | # 14       | A view through a wood                     |                             |           | 5.05,0    |           |           | Blomberg                  |
| Claude Gellée (called Le Lorrain) (1600-1682)                       |  |            |   |                             |           |           |           |           |                           |
| (1)1714   | Mr. Davenants(?) D'Avenants(?)               | # 45       | A Large Landscape                         | ----                        |           |           |           |           |                           |
| (2)1714   | The Green Door, Little Piazza, Covent Garden | # 28       | A Small Landscape & Figures               |                             |           |           |           |           |                           |
| (2)1738+iv  | Mr. Paris                                    | # 117      | A Sunset                                  |                             |           | 80.00,0   |           |           | Jernsgin (Jernsgan)       |
| (2)1741+11  | Mr. Glover                                   | # 91       | A Landscape & Figures                     |                             |           |           | 6.06,0    |           |                           |
| (1)1746   | Mr. Glover                                   | # 97       | A Large Landscape                         |                             |           | ----      |           |           |                           |
| (1)1749   | Mr. Marshall                                 | # 28       | A Large Landscape and Figures             |                             |           |           | 11.11,0   |           | Capt. Gansen / Jensen (?) |
| (1)1749/50  | Lady Sutherland & Sir Robert Sutton          | # 14       | A Large Landscape & Figures Its Companion |                             |           |           | 40.19,0   |           | Vander Sucht              |
|   |  |            |   |                             |           |           | 89.05,0   |           | Sir P. Metnven            |

French Landscape Painting...continued

| Artist<br>Sale Date   | Seller                                    | Lot No. | Title                                       | 1710-1720 | 1721-1730 | 1731-1740        | 1741-1750 | 1751-1660        | Purchased by                 |
|---|---|---------|---|-----------|-----------|------------------|-----------|------------------|------------------------------|
| <hr/>   |   |         |   |           |           |                  |           |                  |                              |
| Gaspard Poussin (Gaspard Dughet) (Rome 1615 - 1675)   |   |         |   |           |           |                  |           |                  |                              |
| (1) (?)   | Marquis Cassandi                          | # 35    | A Landscape (94,10,0)                       |           |           |                  |           |                  |                              |
| (2) (?)   | Wilkins & de Borg                         | # 74    | A Landscape ----                            |           |           |                  |           |                  |                              |
| (1)1715   | At 3 Chairs, Little<br>Piazza,Cvt,6dn.    | # 55    | A Fine Landscape ----                       |           |           |                  |           |                  |                              |
| (1)1738   | Andrew Haig                               | # 66    | A Landscape & Figures<br>Its Companion      |           |           | 8,00,0<br>3,03,0 |           |                  |                              |
| (2)1738+11  | Andrew Haig                               | # 82    | A Landscape                                 |           |           | 20,00,0          |           |                  |                              |
| (1)1739/40  | C.Jarvis                                  | # 492   | A Landscape with<br>Figures by Poussin      |           |           | 16,10,0          |           |                  |                              |
| (1)1741+1v  | Lord Oxford<br>(Edward Earl of<br>Oxford) | # 57    | An Exceeding Fine<br>Landscape & Figures    |           |           |                  | 35,14,0   |                  |                              |
| (2)1742/3   | Mr. Powlett                               | # 57    | A Large Landscape                           |           |           |                  | 3,13,0    |                  |                              |
| (2)1742/3   | Dr. Bragge at<br>Mr. Cocks                | # 40    | Landscape                                   |           |           |                  | 13,13,0   |                  |                              |
| (1)1754+1   | John Hampden                              | # 61    | A Landscape & Figures<br>Its Companion      |           |           |                  |           |                  |                              |
| (1)1754   | Mr.Blackwood                              | # 40    | A Landscape with Apollo,<br>Marsyas & Midas |           |           |                  |           | 37,16,0          |                              |
| (1)1755+11  | Mr. Bragge                                | # 54    | Oval Picture of Elijah<br>fed by Ravens     |           |           |                  |           | 17,17,0          | Lord Egremont                |
| (1)1756+11  | Dr. Bragge                                | # 17    | A Landscape<br>Its Companion                |           |           |                  |           | 7,07,0<br>6,16,6 | Mr.Castleton                 |
| (2)1758+1   | Furnese                                   | # 22    | A Landscape with a View<br>of Tivoli        |           |           |                  |           | 44,02,0          | Gould for Bragge             |
| <hr/>   |   |         |   |           |           |                  |           |                  |                              |
| Sebastian Bourdon (Montpellier 1616 - Paris 1671)   |   |         |   |           |           |                  |           |                  |                              |
| (2)1725/6   | Andrew Hay                                | # 9     | A Landscape with Figures                    |           | 37,16,0   |                  |           |                  | Lord Herbert                 |
| (2)1741+1   | Andrew Hay                                | # 8     | A Landscape with Building                   |           |           |                  | 3,15,0    |                  |                              |
| <hr/>   |   |         |   |           |           |                  |           |                  |                              |
| Old Patel (Picardy before 1620 - Paris 1676)  |   |         |   |           |           |                  |           |                  |                              |
| (2)1740+11  | Mr. Paris and<br>and I.Jekyll             | # 126   | A Landscape by Patell                       |           |           | 7,15,0           |           |                  | Lord Sandwich                |
| (2)1751+11  | Lord Oxford                               | # 124   | A Landscape and Figures                     |           |           |                  |           | 12,15,0          | Armstrong                    |
| <hr/>   |   |         |   |           |           |                  |           |                  |                              |
| Jacques Rousseau (Paris 1630 - London 1693)   |   |         |   |           |           |                  |           |                  |                              |
| (2)1739   | Mr. Norton                                | # 42    | A Large Round Landscape                     |           |           | 2,01,0           |           |                  |                              |
| <hr/>   |   |         |   |           |           |                  |           |                  |                              |
| Parocelli/Parrocel (could be Joseph - Brignottes 1648 - Paris 1704)                                   |   |         |   |           |           |                  |           |                  |                              |
| (2)1754/55  | Chevr.Couvry                              | # 23    | A March of an Army                          |           |           |                  |           | 21,00,0          |                              |
| (2)1754/55  | Chevr.Couvry                              | # 24    | Its Companion                               |           |           |                  |           | 37,00,0          |                              |
| <hr/>   |   |         |   |           |           |                  |           |                  |                              |
| Antoine Watteau (Valenciennes 1684 - Nogent-sur-Marne 1721)   |   |         |   |           |           |                  |           |                  |                              |
| (1)1742/3<br>+11  | Mr. Paris                                 | # 55    | The Wood of Vincennes<br>with Figures       |           |           |                  | 47,00,0   |                  | Dr.Ward<br>prob, Joshua Warc |
| (2)1743   | Geminiani                                 | # 42    | A Conversation in a<br>Landscape            |           |           |                  | 2,02,0    |                  |                              |
| <hr/>   |   |         |   |           |           |                  |           |                  |                              |
| F. Rousseau (might be Franz) (Bonn [?] - Paris [?])<br>or Jacques Rousseau (Paris 1630 - London 1693) |   |         |   |           |           |                  |           |                  |                              |
| (1)1731   | Cocks<br>(consigned from<br>Spain)        | # 32    | A Landscape                                 |           | ----      |                  |           |                  |                              |

French Landscape Painting...continued

| Artist   | Seller       | Lot No. | Title                                       | 1710-1720 | 1721-1730 | 1731-1740 | 1741-1750 | 1751-1660 | Purchased by |
|--|--------------|---------|---|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|
| Sale Date  |              |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| Gudry ) Jacques Charles (Paris 1720 - Lousanne 1778) |              |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| ) Jean Baptiste (Paris 1686 - 1755)                  |              |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| (1)1756  | Dr. Bragge   | # 7     | A Landscape                                 |           |           |           |           | 2.08.0    |              |
| Poussin (Unidentified name)                          |              |         |   |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| (2)1727  | Mr. de Vos   | # 47    | A Landscape with Figures                    |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| (2)1731/2  | At Mr. Cocks | # 07    | A Landscape in the first manner of Poussin. |           |           |           |           |           |              |

A summary of Prices Paid for French Still-Life Paintings , 1710-1760

Prices are in Pounds, shillings and pence as quoted in the Houlditch catalogues. There are some missing values indicated by a broken line. Names are in chronological order following the discussion in the text above. Two random samples were drawn from the Houlditch Sales Catalogues (1711-1759), Victoria and Albert Museum Library, identified as (1) and (2) below. Artists have been placed in synchronic order according to date of birth.

| Artist  | Seller            | Lot No. | Title                              | 1710-1720 | 1721-1730 | 1731-1740 | 1741-1750 | 1751-1660 | Purchased by |
|---|-------------------|---------|------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|
| Sale Date   |                   |         |                                    |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| Baptiste Monneyer (Lille 1634 - London 1699)                |                   |         |                                    |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| (1) (?)   | Sir William Willy | # 54    | A Piece of Flowers                 |           |           |           |           | (2.08.0)  |              |
|   |                   | # 54    | & Its Companion                    |           |           |           |           | (2.06.0)  |              |
| (1) (?)   | Summer House      | # 162   | Flowers                            |           |           | ----      |           |           | Thompson     |
| (1)1741   | Andrew Hay        | # 33    | A Small Piece of Flowers on Copper |           |           |           | 3.05.0    |           |              |
| (1)1749/50  | Blackwoods Sale   | # 59    | Flowers, large                     |           |           |           | 15.15.0   |           | Burgess      |
| Baptist ? John-Baptiste Monnoyer (Lille 1634 - London 1699) |                   |         |                                    |           |           |           |           |           |              |
| (2) (?)   | Mr. Betts         | # 105   | Flowers                            |           |           |           |           | 3.04.0    |              |

### A summary of Prices Paid for French Genre Paintings . 1710-1760

Prices are in Pounds, shillings and pence as quoted in the Houlditch catalogues. There are some missing values indicated by a broken line. Names are in chronological order following the discussion in the text above. Two random samples were drawn from the Houlditch Sales Catalogues (1711-1759), Victoria and Albert Museum Library, identified as (1) and (2) below. Artists have been placed in synchronic order according to date of birth.

| Artist  | Seller                           | Lot No. | Title  | 1710-1720 | 1721-1730 | 1731-1740 | 1741-1750 | 1751-1760 | Purchased by    |
|---|----------------------------------|---------|--|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------------|
| Sale Date   |                                  |         |  |           |           |           |           |           |                 |
| Louis de Boullongne 11 (Bologne) (Paris 1654 - 1733)        |                                  |         |  |           |           |           |           |           |                 |
| (Could be Bon de Boullongne or Boulogne Paris 1649 - 1717)  |                                  |         |  |           |           |           |           |           |                 |
| (2)1743+11  | Geminiani Sale                   | # 82    | An Old Woman Dressing                                    |           |           |           | 2,10,0    |           |                 |
| Jean Raoux (Montpellier 1677 - Paris 1734)                  |                                  |         |  |           |           |           |           |           |                 |
| (2)1742   | Monsr. de Piles                  | # 11    | A Lady Dressing  |           |           |           | 13,13,0   |           |                 |
| Antoine Watteau (Valenciennes 1684 - Nogent-sur-Marne 1721) |                                  |         |  |           |           |           |           |           |                 |
| (1)1755   | Prestages                        | # 22    | Figures Dancing  |           |           |           | 15,15,0   |           |                 |
| (1)1756+11  | Rongents Sale                    | # 24    | A Musical Conversation                                   |           |           |           | 3,09,0    |           | Sir Ian Chapman |
| (2)1754+11  | Dr. Bragge                       | # 35    | A Conversation of<br>of Comedians                        | )         |           |           |           |           |                 |
|   |                                  | # 36    | A Young Fortune-teller<br>with a Young Lady              | )         |           |           | 16,05,6   |           | Mr. Beckford    |
| Jean - Baptiste Pater (1695 - 1736)                         |                                  |         |  |           |           |           |           |           |                 |
| (1)1740+11  | Mr. Paris & part<br>of I. Jekyll | # 49    | The Kiss Given out of<br>Fontaine, and its<br>Companion, | )         |           |           |           |           |                 |
|   |                                  |         | The Kiss Returned  | )         |           | 14,00,0   |           |           |                 |
| (2)1740+11  | Mr. Paris                        | # 48    | The Married Man beating<br>and Content                   |           |           | 7,15,0    |           |           | Cooke           |
| Francois Boucher (Paris 1703 - 1770)                        |                                  |         |  |           |           |           |           |           |                 |
| (2)1744/5   | And. Hay                         | # 30    | A Young Man & his<br>Mistress, Oval                      |           |           |           | 16,05,6   |           | Lord Hume       |

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A Catalogue at the Bell-Tavern over against the Gate-House in King Street Westminster. a Sale of Paintings - exposed to sale being the Best Masters in Europe by Gardynier. London, 13-16 October, 1691.

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A Catalogue of an Auction of Paintings most of them being from the Collections of Prince Ludovico and General Doushfield, Lately brought over and consisting of works of Guido Reni, Rubens, Carracci etc... at the Vendu next to Bedford-Gate in Charles Street, Covent Garden, by Edward Millington. London, 22-23rd. January, 1692/3.

A Catalogue of a Curious Collection of Paintings, will be continued in the Sale by Auction of a Curious Collection of Pictures, with an addition of more pieces, very extraordinary Fine, with Tables, Stands and other Curiosities at the Outroper's Office, in the West End of the Royal Exchange where they are exposed to public view, by Mr. Verrijck. London, 23rd. March, 1692/3.

**LONDON, NATIONAL GALLERY LIBRARY**

**A Catalogue of Pictures XVIII Century: 1745-1802 :**

**A Catalogue of the Genuine Collection of Italian, Dutch and Flemish Pictures of Mr. John Bouttats purchased out of several Cabinets abroad; Amongst which are the following great masters, viz. Carlo Marratti, Ann. Carracci, David Teniers, Seb. Ricci, Rosa Tivoli, Ruysdale, Paul Brill, Wynants, Snyders, Meiris, Titian, Rubens, Van Uden, Old Wyke, Ger. Dou, Both, and Likewise two Capital Pictures by Fyfe; which will be sold by auction by Mr. Prestage, at his Great Room, the end of Savile-Row, next to Conduit Street, Hanover Square, on Wednesday 22nd. Jan, 1766 and the following day.**

**A Catalogue of the Most Elegant and Superb Collection of Pictures Imported by Mr. John Bertels of Brussels. And chiefly purchased out of the best Cabinets abroad, such as De Heer Lubelin, Fifeau, Van der Dussen, and Van de Velde of Amsterdam, and lately out of that celebrated Cabinet of Monsieur Comte de Barre of Paris....Among many others are three remarkable pictures; the Homage Paid to the Brazen Serpent by S. Bourdon, which measures 14 feet in Length, and ten feet in Height, and is well known after the engraving after it; the Descent from the Cross by A. Carracci, after the famous picture of D. da Volterra; and an Old Man's Head in the best Manner and style of Rembrandt which will be sold by Mr. Walsh at his Room, opposite Mr. Almack's, King Street, St. James's Square. on Friday April 7, 1775 and the following day.**

**A Catalogue of that truly superb and well-known Collection of Pictures of the Roman, Venetian, Spanish, French, Flemish, Dutch and English Schools; The entire and genuine property of Monsieur Desenfans, amongst which are no less than ten landscapes with Cattle and Figures by Berchem, and eight by Teniers: Several Performances by Rubens and Vandyck: An undoubted picture of Gerard Douw : Some precious landscapes with Horses and Figures by Wouwermans; Three of Vernet; some Guido, Carracci, and Salvator Rosa, out of the Palace Barberini at Rome: Three by Murillo : Some by Albano, Poussin, Raphael, Corregio, F. Laura, with the works of some of eminent Masters of the English School. Also four Performances of Claude Le Lorraine; one of which is that well known and so much admired Sea Port with the History of Saint Ursula, which was purchased some years ago out of the Palace Barberini and is reckoned the finest picture in Europe. The whole will be sold on Saturday April 8, 1786 by Private Contract, by a Committee appointed by Mons. Desenfans, at the Great Rooms late The Royal Academy, No. 125 Pall Mall, where the Nobility and Gentry may View the above Pictures.**

**Sales Catalogues Box A XI. 12. 9 :**

**Catalogue of a Collection of Pictures of Mr. Bragge, (Intending to Retire from Business) by the following Masters \_\_\_\_\_ viz. Han. Carracci, Cantarini, Carlo Cioniani, Claude Lorraine Valentini, P. Wouwermans, Ruysdale Valerio Catelli, Gobbo Carracci, Rubens, Snyders, Fyft, Van Uden, D. Teniers, Hobbema. Likewise his fine Picture of W. Vandevelt which will be sold by Auction by Mr. Prestage, At his Great Room the end of Saville-Row next to Conduit Street on Thursday and Friday 15 & 16 February, 1750.**

**A Catalogue of all the Genuine Household Furniture, Capital Pictures, Curious Bronzes, Large Side-Board of Plate, Old China and Chariot almost new. Belonging to the Right Honourable Earl Waldegrave (deceased) at his Lordships late Dwelling House in Albemarle Street**

which will be sold by Auction by Mr. Prestage. on Wednesday 16 November, 1763.

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